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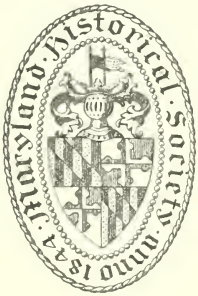

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BALTIMORE

1948

University of Florida
1853

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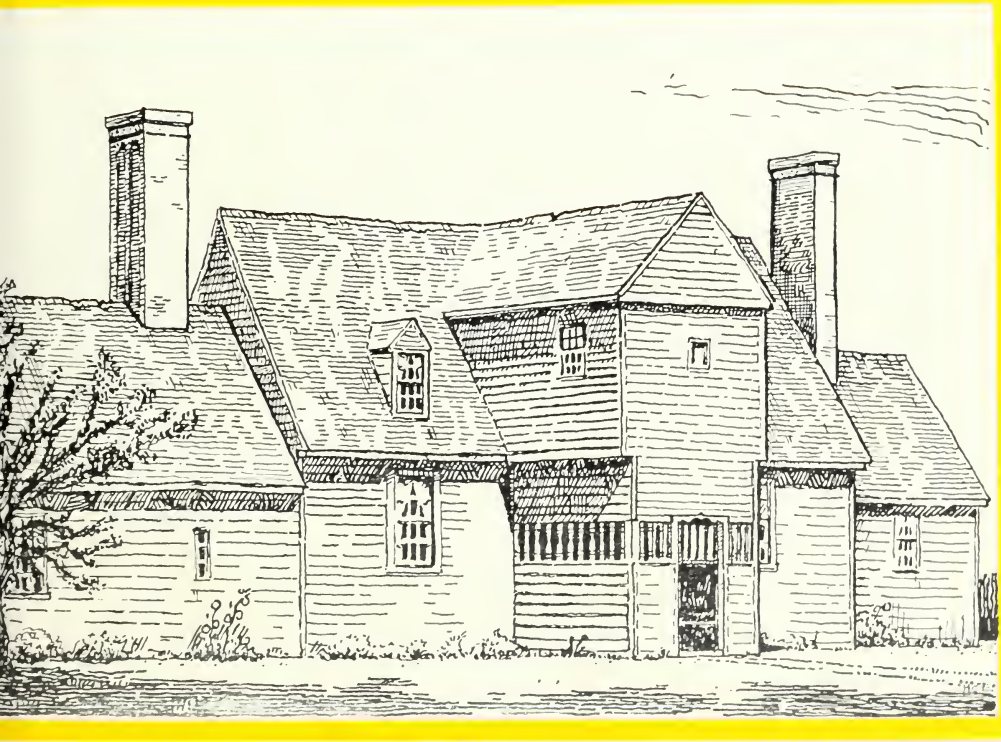

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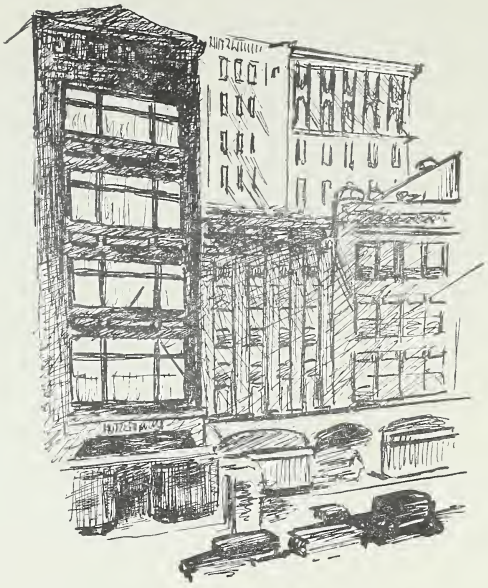

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Annual Subscription to the Magazine $3.00. Each issue 75c. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

James W. Foster, Editor.
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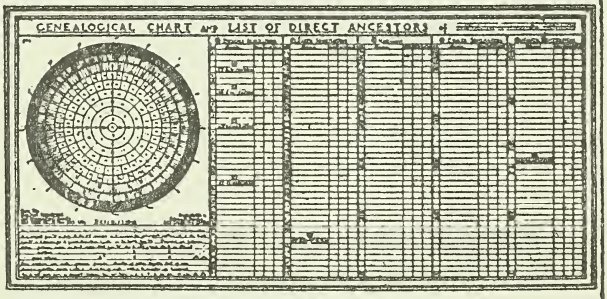

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A Quarterly

Volume XLIII MARCH, 1948 Number 1

MARYLAND TROOPS IN THE BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS

By Lucy Leigh Bowie

THE Battle of Harlem Heights was fought on Monday, September 16, 1776. It could well be described as a "brush with the enemy" for the number of troops engaged was not more than ten or eleven thousand men. Its importance lies in the fact that it was the first time in the American Revolution that the British "regulars" were routed on the field of battle by American troops.

To appreciate the full significance of this engagement we must turn back to August 27 and the Battle of Long Island. What was left of the defeated army had retired to their lines of defence. The gay and debonair Maryland "Macaronies" who covered their retreat, had died like heroes, hopelessly outnumbered. They had charged the British, then again, and again and still again, and each time they were pressed back. At the sixth charge the British faltered and the Marylanders could then retire to a protected position; but only one-third of their number were living. After this it rained for three days. There were no "let-ups"; it was a

steady rain with occasional down-pours. The troops were for the most part without shelter. They were wet to the skin and unable to cook their food. Their chief preoccupation was to obey the order to keep their arms and ammunition dry. This was followed by another order which seemed incredible. It was to prepare for an immediate attack upon the enemy, and the remnant of Smallwood's Marylanders and Magaw's Philadelphians were placed on guard.

At nightfall an indescribable murmur arose throughout the camp which indicated that the army was in motion but the direction of the sound was away from the enemy and toward the waterfront. When the order came it was for the troops to march quietly to the ferry and embark for New York. Upon the embarkation of the main army, those on guard and Alexander Hamilton's artillery, which also covered the evacuation, were to march briskly to the ferry. They were loaded into small boats and in the drizzling rain and fog were ferried across to New York City, the last boatload leaving at daybreak August 30, 1776. A breeze sprang up with the dawn and the fog [1] lifted. The last boat was just out of gun shot and those aboard could see the British soldiers climbing over the deserted breastworks.

There was a universal expression of disgust throughout the British army that the "Old Fox," meaning General Washington, had given them the slip. However, it was not considered of much importance as Howe and his ranking officers were convinced that the war was over except for "bagging" the rebel army which could be done at any time without much trouble. They thought the Americans had fled rather than evacuated and were so thoroughly beaten that never again would they dare to face the British army on the field of battle and that this campaign would end the war.[2] With this situation in mind the Howes considered that the time was ripe for a settlement of peace between England and her colonies. They determined to get in touch with the American leaders, the object being to arrange the conditions under which the peace terms could be decided upon. As is well known, Congress sent commissioners who met the Howes on Staten Island, September 11, 1776. The American committee soon found that

[1] Alexander Graydon, *Memoir of His Own Time.* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1846), p. 164-168.

[2] Hugh, Earl Percy, *Letters from Boston and New York, 1774-1776.* (Boston: 1902), p. 69.

Lord Howe had no power to negotiate an adjustment and could only propose the already known condition, that pardon would be granted in most cases if the colonies would return to their allegiance to the British Crown. The Americans stated in reply that the repeated petitions sent to King and Parliament had been treated with contempt and war had been declared upon the colonies. The colonies had now declared their independence and could not return to their former dependent state.

In parting General Howe expressed sorrow that an agreement could not be reached and said that it would give him pain to inflict distress upon a people for whom he had so much regard. Franklin, one of the commissioners, thanked him for his regard and added that Americans would endeavor to lessen his pain by taking good care of themselves. Under the conditions of the late American defeat this reply must have sounded to British ears as the very essence of braggadocio.

However, the Howes allowed their officers and men to believe that the delegates from the Continental Congress came " by permission " with offers of " compromise and submission " and that, whatever their offer, it was rejected.[3]

Four days later, on Sunday, September 15, the campaign against the American forces was resumed. General Howe had his troops drawn up at Newton Inlet as the best position for crossing to Manhattan Island. It was said that in the early morning sunlight the British army looked like a field of pink clover in full bloom. They were to land under cover of the guns of the warships anchored in the East River above what is now 23rd Street. General Howe would have preferred to land his army at Harlem and so bottle up the entire American army within the limits of what is now New York City, but the pilots refused to take the warships and transports up the East River and through the currents of Hell Gate. There was no choice but to land at Kip's Bay where the island narrowed to about a mile in width with a road crossing from east to west.[4]

Washington realized this choice, but did not know of the pilots' refusal to navigate Hell Gate, so he was obliged to prepare for the enemy at both points. Strong works were thrown up to prevent

[3] Frederick Mackenzie, *Diary*. (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1930), I, 44.
[4] Henry P. Johnston, *The Battle of Harlem Heights*. (New York: Macmillan, 1897), p. 33. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, I, 46.

the British from landing and these were manned by his most reliable regiments. At Harlem he stationed Shee's and Magaw's Philadelphians, Hand's Pennsylvania riflemen and Haslet's Delawareans. At Kip's Bay Washington stationed his most experienced and, in point of service, oldest troops, veterans of the Boston campaign of 1775. These were the Connecticut and Massachusetts brigades, eight regiments in all, under Parsons of Connecticut and Fellows of Massachusetts. Their orders were to defend the works, to engage the enemy upon landing and to hold him until the evacuation of the city by the American army had been accomplished. The fortifications at this point were very strong and were in a most advantageous situation overlooking the landing place. So long as they were held the British could make no advance.[5]

About eleven o'clock on the morning of Sept. 15 a cannonading from the warships began which, Washington recognized, was to cover the British landing at Kip's Bay. With all possible speed he left his headquarters and rode toward the landing place. He found that in spite of the severe bombardment the defence works had not been hit nor a single American soldier wounded; nevertheless, the troops were flying in every direction. Upon the appearance of a small party of the enemy, about sixty, these regiments ran away in the greatest haste and confusion without firing a single shot. The very demon of fear possessed them and nothing could stop their flight toward the highlands and safety.

On the south side of the road was a large cornfield with a stone fence. Washington dashed in among the flying crowds, shouting: "Take to the walls! Take to the cornfield!" He used his utmost exertion to stop their flight and bring them to order. He cocked his pistols and snapped them, drew his sword and threatened to run them through. He even, it was said, laid his cane (using his sword as a cane?) over many of the officers who showed their men the example of running. He found it impossible to face them about. On they fled, leaving their commander-in-chief within eighty yards of the enemy attended only by his aides-de-camp. Washington was in a blind and towering rage, "so vexed that he sought death rather than life." He threw his hat to the ground, and exclaiming, demanded of high heaven: "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America?" One of the aides caught

[5] Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, I, 67.

the General's bridle and turned his horse's head in the opposite direction away from the enemy.[6] The report of this episode went through the length and breadth of the army like wind through the tree tops. When the news reached Congress John Adams' heart almost broke with sorrow and mortification. If the New England troops had been cut to pieces, he lamented, and his father, brother and son had been among the slain, " it would not have given [him] so much grief as the shameful flight of the 15th instant." [7]

The enemy had expected the landing to be resisted. When they met with no opposition and found the defences deserted without apparent cause, the British were uneasy and feared a trap of some kind. When they learned that the reason was panic, the entire British army rocked with unholy laughter that, leaving their commander to his fate, eight regiments had been put to flight by the appearance of a few British soldiers without a single shot being fired. The tale reached London and as it could not be exaggerated it was embroidered.[8] Surely Admiral and General Howe and their officers had every reason to consider their judgment correct in believing that never again would the American army meet the British on the field of battle.

September 15, 1776, was a scorching hot Sunday. Howe had been in the saddle since before dawn. His army had landed on the island without a casualty. A short distance above the landing place was Murray Hill, the residence of Robert Murray, a Loyalist; it was only proper to assure this family that the Army would not molest their property, so Howe and his staff called. Only Mrs. Murray was at home. They arrived about noon and lingered into the afternoon and it is evident they stayed to dinner. No one had

[6] Smallwood to the Maryland Convention, Peter Force, *American Archives*, 5th ser., vol. 2, col. 1013; Tilghman to his father, *Memoir of Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman* (Albany: Munsell, 1876), p. 137; Adjutant General Joseph Reed to his wife, in William B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1847), I, 237-238; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931-1944), VI, 58, 63, 57-59; Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (New York: Putnam, 1889), IV, 406-409; Capt. William Beatty to his father, Col. William Beatty, Sept. 18, 1776, Md. Hist. Soc., Beatty MSS; Gen. Greene to Gov. Cooke of R. I., Force, *op. cit.*, 5th ser., vol. 2, col. 370-371; William Gordon, *History of the Rise . . . of the United States* (various editions). For additional details see Graydon, *op. cit.*, p. 74, and Maj. Gen. William Heath, *Memoirs* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1798), p. 60.

[7] John Adams, *Works*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1850-1856), I, 255; John Quincy and Charles F. Adams, *Life of John Adams* (Philadelphia: 1874).

[8] Ford, *Writings*, IV, 408. See quotation from *London Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1776.

a greater appreciation than General Howe of the amenities of a well appointed house or the society of a pretty woman. That General Howe lingered at Murray Hill was a " lucky break " for the American Army. In consequence the last British troops and artillery were not landed until around 5 P. M. and lines across the island to the Hudson River were not established until towards morning.[9] The hours thus gained enabled Washington to complete the evacuation of New York City.

A strong position in the highlands had been decided upon in advance and general headquarters were removed from Mott's Tavern to the Morris House (now known as the Jumel House) on the heights along the Harlem River. To prevent being flanked before he could reorganize his army " General Washington expressly sent and drew [Smallwood's] regiment from its brigade to march down to New York and to defend the baggage." [10] They were posted at McGowan's Pass, now 5th Ave. and 96th St., which commanded three roads, the Post Road to the north, a cross road to the Hudson River, and Harlem Lane which led to the Hollow Way where Washington was to locate his advance picket; his camp being a mile back in the hills and hidden by the woods and rocks.[11] All day and far into the night the hot, dusty roads were crowded with soldiers, cattle and chattels of all kinds on the way to join the army in the new position. Fresh troops were also coming down the island to join the army at the combat line. These were the Maryland Flying Camp which had been on Manhattan Island since September 15th. Major Price's three Independent Maryland Companies (which were to furnish replacements for the heroes Smallwood had lost in the Battle of Long Island) and the 3rd Virginia Regiment arrived from Red Bank on Sunday morning. All of these troops were assigned to what would become the front line of the newly established American position. From the placement of these troops can be readily seen the confidence Washington had in the Maryland Line and in the Virginians also, but there seems not to have been a great many of them.[12] Both Marylanders and Virginians were clothed in hunting-shirts, which corresponded in color to the khaki of today. They were fresh, young troops recruited from plantations and

[9] Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, I, 50.
[10] Force, *op. cit.*, ser. 5, vol. 2, col. 1013.
[11] See historical maps of New York City in Johnston, *op. cit.*
[12] Graydon, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

small towns and could never have seen the soldiers of a regular army nor heard a shot fired in battle. Since the Maryland Convention of December 8, 1774, all men between the ages of 18 and 50 had been formed into companies and drilled twice a week with flint locks, with bayonets attached, in order that they should become proficient in the military art.[13] In this they had the advantage over other American soldiers who were not trained to use the bayonet until von Steuben reorganized the Continental Army in March, 1778.

There were four battalions of the Maryland Flying Camp under the command of Brigadier General Rezin Beall. Field equipment was difficult to procure and they were sent north by companies and even platoons as soon as they could be outfitted. At this date (Sept. 16, 1776) only 2,592 of the full quota of 3,405 men had arrived in the north. These were the 1st Battalion, commanded by Col. Charles Greenbury Griffith from Western Maryland, with 8 companies numbering 576 infantrymen, including riflemen, or sharpshooters, as they would now be called. The 2nd Battalion was from Baltimore and Harford Counties under Col. Josias Carvel Hall with six companies of infantry, numbering 436 men and one company of artillery. The 3rd Battalion was from the five Southern Maryland counties. It was commanded by Col. Thomas Ewing with 12 companies of infantry, numbering 864 men and 2 companies of artillery. The 4th Battalion was from the Eastern Shore and had ten companies of infantry with 720 men under Col. William Richardson, and Major Price's three Independent Companies, numbering about 216 men.[14] Col. George Weedon commanded the 3rd Virginia Regiment which had ten companies and seems to have numbered at this date (Sept. 15) about 726 infantry men and sharpshooting riflemen.[15]

To return to the evacuation of the American army from New York City on Sunday September 15, 1776, headquarters was gradually bringing order out of confusion, assigning camp sites to the troops as they reported in and discovering what units had been captured.

[13] [William T. R. Saffell] *Dulany's History of Maryland.* (Baltimore: Dulany, 1882), p. 143.

[14] James McSherry, *History of Maryland.* (Baltimore: Murphy, 1849), Appendix B, p. 382-384; *Archives of Maryland*, vols. XII and XVIII.

[15] *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XX, 185. As of October, 1776. 611 rank and file, with 104 officers, are shown. Losses in September, 1776, could not have been less than five men as here allowed.

It was feared that General Putnam and most of his division had been taken prisoners. His headquarters had been at No. 1 Broadway. Upon hearing the heavy firing at Kip's Bay, Putnam immediately rode to the front but neglected to leave orders regarding the evacuation of his men (the regiments of Fellows' and Parsons' brigades as has been seen, had already evacuated themselves) when he remembered those that he had left in the city. He turned his horse and rode back only to find that every one was moving in the opposite direction. He would have been too late to save his men except that his two able aides-de-camp, Aaron Burr and Alexander Scammel, had set his army in motion without orders. They also brought off Silliman's brigade of artillery under Col. Knox. Burr knew the country well, and led the escape northward near the Hudson by the Bloomingdale Road. Reaching headquarters just after dark, they were welcomed with great rejoicing for they had been given up for lost.[16]

Col. Knox had elected to remain in New York City.[17] That evening the blistering heat of the day was followed by a thunder storm which changed to a cold rain before clearing.[18] In the darkness and rain Knox secured a row boat and slipped past the British warships in the East River and reached headquarters around midnight. Since it was considered certain that he had been captured, his appearance was greeted with great acclaim and he was embraced by General Washington. Thus ended one of the darkest days in the history of the American Army.

Dawn of September 16th found headquarters in active operation. After snatching a few hours' sleep Washington was drafting his report of the preceding day for Congress. The Adjutant General, Col. Reed, was writing to his wife. As he sealed the letter a report came in that the enemy[19] was advancing in three

[16] See biographies of General Israel Putnam; General Henry Knox or Aaron Burr.

[17] Col. Henry Knox, although in command of the artillery branch of the Continental Army, was not made a brigadier general until December, 1776.

[18] Correspondence of Capt. William Beatty in Maryland Historical Society's library.

[19] From this point throughout the description of the battle references will be made to the "Authorities" that comprise the second half of *The Battle of Harlem Heights* by Johnston. These authorities were collected at the time of the centennial anniversary 1876, for the most part by the librarian of the New York Historical Society and founder and editor of the American *Magazine of History*, John Austin Stevens. They were added to by the succeeding librarian, William Kelby. Johnston also added to this data, notably a letter dated September 18, 1776, written by Capt. Gustavus Brown Wallace, printed in the text on page 119, and possibly the Recollections of Judge Oliver Burnham on page 178. Various monographs and

columns. So many false reports had been received that Col. Reed was despatched to ascertain the truth and to locate Lt. Col. Knowlton of the Rangers who with 150 New England volunteers had been ordered to advance at dawn upon the enemy's lines to feel out their position and to capture their advance guard.[20]

Lt. Col. Thomas Knowlton is described by Washington Irving as General Putnam's favorite officer. Usually this means a favorite with the writer. However, in this case, that designation appears to be correct, as time after time Putnam selected Knowlton for special assignments which gained him the reputation throughout the army of a competent and reliable officer. He keenly felt the disgrace that the conduct of Fellows' and Parsons' brigades had brought upon Putnam's division and he had begged for the chance to retrieve their reputation. With his 150 volunteers from New England he moved out on Monday morning before day. At daybreak, scouting near the Hudson River, he encountered a British force about 300 strong who immediately formed to give battle. Knowlton then ordered his men to fire. " After eight rounds a piece had been fired by the Americans and seeing the British were getting their flank guard around them, Knowlton ordered a retreat." This was conducted with great rapidity, the enemy being but five minutes behind them. They lost ten men in action but retreated the 2½ miles to the American outposts without further loss.[21]

At headquarters Washington finished his report to Congress and handed it to his secretary, Col. Harrison, to have a fair copy made for his signature. Then hearing firing in the distance and as no report had come in from Col. Reed, Washington mounted his horse and with his aides rode down to the front lines.[22]

These lines extended along the northern heights that overlooked and skirted a wide declivity called the Hollow Way. It was about

books have been published about this battle by John Jay in 1876, Erastus C. Benedict, 1879 and Martha J. Lambe, 1880. It may be noticed that these publications have not been used in this article. The authors were all residents of New York City whose attention was chiefly engaged in establishing the location of the battlefield. New York had no troops in the Battle.

[20] Johnston, " Authorities ": Correspondence of Adj. Gen. Joseph Reed, Sept. 22, 1776 (see also Reed, *op. cit.*, according to date); Correspondence attributed to Capt. Stephen Brown, Johnston, p. 155.

[21] Johnston, p. 155: Correspondence attributed to Captain Stephen Brown of Knowlton's Rangers.

[22] See Col. Harrison's note to Washington's Report to the President of Congress, Sept. 16, 1776. Ford, *Writings*, under date.

half a mile wide and was traversed by a lane or roadway leading from the Kingsbridge road on the East River side of the island to a landing at Matje Davits Vly on the Hudson River side.[23] It was nearly nine o'clock when Knowlton's Rangers reached the safety of the American lines and Reed and Knowlton joined Washington and his group of officers.[24]

The British, estimated at about 300 men,[25] pressed hard upon the retreating Americans. These were in reality the van guard and the main body numbering ten times as many were not far in the rear, concealed by the woods. They came on in high spirits,[26] getting all the fun they could from the chase, confident that the Americans would never make a stand against them.[27] They halted on the southern heights overlooking the Hollow Way, still concealed by the trees and bushes. Seeing Washington and his staff in full view on the opposite heights, a small group of them came out into the open in great glee, and with a gesture of derision sounded upon their " bugle horns " the view hello, as if in a fox hunt. Col. Reed reports that this was done in a most insulting manner and said that he never felt such a sensation before. " It seemed to crown our disgrace " he added.[28] What were Washington's sensations? What did the old fox hunter feel when he found himself regarded as the quarry? His spleen over his encounter with the fleeing soldiers could not have yet subsided; writing his report to Congress must have fanned its embers into flame; and now came this insulting gesture of derision and contempt. But we have no word or intimation of Washington's emotional reaction. We only know he decided to capture this party, small as it was reported to be. In his own words he " formed the design of cutting off such of them as had or might advance to the extremity of the woods " [29] and his plan was to

[23] See historical maps of New York City in Johnston, *op. cit.*

[24] Johnston, p. 134 and 136: Correspondence of Joseph Reed, Sept. 17, 1776 and Sept. 22, 1776. Reed, *op. cit.*

[25] Johnston, p. 130: Washington's Report to Congress, Sept. 18, 1776, p. 156; Correspondence from Headquarters, Sept. 17, 1776. See also Irving's *Life of Washington*, vol. 2, Ch. 35.

[26] Johnston, p. 173: Correspondence of Lt. Joseph Hodgkins, Sept. ye 30, 1776.

[27] Johnston, p. 177: Correspondence of Col. Tench Tilghman. See also his *Memoir*, p. 139.

[28] Johnston, p. 135: Correspondence of Adj. General Joseph Reed, Sept. 17, 1776. See also Reed, *Life and Correspondence*, under date.

[29] Johnston, p. 133: Washington to the New York Convention, Sept. 23, 1776. See also Fitzpatrick or Ford, *Writings*, under date.

attack them in the rear and cut off their retreat.[30] By eleven o'clock Washington had decided upon his strategy, instructed his officers, and prepared his troops for battle. One party was ordered to march toward the enemy as if to attack in front but not to deliver a real blow until the other party was fairly in the rear and cutting off their retreat.[31] The troops to be used in this engagement were the Maryland Flying Camp and Major Price's three Independent Maryland Companies, the 3rd Virginia under Col. Weedon, Col. Knowlton's (New England Volunteer) rangers, Nixon's New England brigade, and a Massachusetts regiment under Col. Sargent. Generals Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania and George Clinton of New York participated in the engagement as observers with General Putnam and General Greene in command of the action.[32]

The opposing forces were about half a mile apart on hills with the Hollow Way between. 150 volunteers from Hitchcock's Rhode Islanders under Lt. Col. Crary comprised the detachment ordered to show themselves and keep up enough fire to hold the enemy's attention and keep him amused. On the right but out of sight of the enemy was the 3rd Virginia [33] and Price's Maryland companies. On the left, also concealed from the enemy, was Col. Ewing's Southern Maryland Flying Camp [34] and at the rear was the main body of Hitchcock's Rhode Island regiment. These concealed parties were ordered to attack only when the noise of battle indicated that the troops sent to attack the British rear had reached their objective and begun action.

The force to attack the rear was in command of Col. Knowlton (still anxious to retrieve the reputation of the New England troops) with three companies of riflemen from the 3rd Virginia under Major Leitch. The riflemen were accompanied by the Adjutant General, Col. Joseph Reed.[35] They were well on their

[30] Johnston, p. 177: Correspondence of Lt. Col. Tench Tilghman. See also *Memoir*, p. 139.

[31] Johnston, p. 177: Tilghman, Sept. 19, 1776. See also *Memoir*, p. 138.

[32] Johnston, p. 164: Extract from Journal kept by Dr. Ezra Stiles in possession of Yale Univ., under date of Sept. 27, 1776.

[33] Johnston, p. 153: Correspondence of Capt. John Gooch; p. 119: Correspondence of Capt. Augustus Brown Wallace of the 3rd Virginia.

[34] Deposition of Thomas Marshall of Southern Md. Flying Camp; Pension Records: Revolutionary War Section—U. S. Pension Bureau: Marshall, Thomas; Maryland, 26346-S8992.

[35] Johnston, p. 134: Correspondence of Col. Joseph Reed, Sept. 17, 1776; p. 130. Washington's Report to Congress, Sept. 18, 1776; p. 156: Letter to Gentleman in

way and had reached the flank undiscovered, being separated from the enemy by a rocky ridge covered with trees and undergrowth; however, while out of sight of the British they were in plain sight of Col. Crary's men who were ordered to hold the attention of the enemy until the attack upon their rear was fairly launched.[36] At this point and place General Putnam had ridden up to give his final orders to Col. Knowlton. These were that in the attack upon the enemy's rear he was to take the left flank.[37] It is evident from subsequent events and statements that Col. Knowlton, Col. Reed and Major Leitch were grouped together to receive General Putnam's instruction and while thus engaged their attention was attracted by an "unhappy movement [that] was made by a Regiment of ours which had orders to amuse them [the enemy] while those I was with expected to take them in the rear." [38] The "unhappy movement" was that Col. Crary's men, who were to make a feint, advanced toward the enemy, showed themselves and fired, as was intended, but at too great a distance to do any harm. The enemy, upon seeing them, promptly accepted battle, ran down the hill, took possession of some fences and bushes and returned their fire but also at too great a distance to do much execution. To Col. Crary's men "it was as terrible a fire as [they] ever heard" and about six minutes later they were seen "running like the de—l." [39]

It should not be forgotten that the battlefield was only about half a mile wide and that Putnam, Reed, Knowlton and Leitch were together at the time Crary's men were seen fleeing up the hill. Immediately an order was given to attack the enemy's flank at once, Putnam put spurs to his horse and rode diagonally across the field to intercept the fleeing soldiers. As Thomas Marshall tells it,[40] "They were rallied and brought back by an officer on a black horse that was called General Putnam."

Annapolis. It is impossible to decide the exact time that Major Mantz and his three companies of Md. riflemen may have entered the combat at this point. There is no ordered account of the battle and any description must be reconstructed from scraps of private correspondence, checking one loose statement against another.

[36] Johnston, opp. p. 116: Dr. Stiles' sketch of the Harlem action.

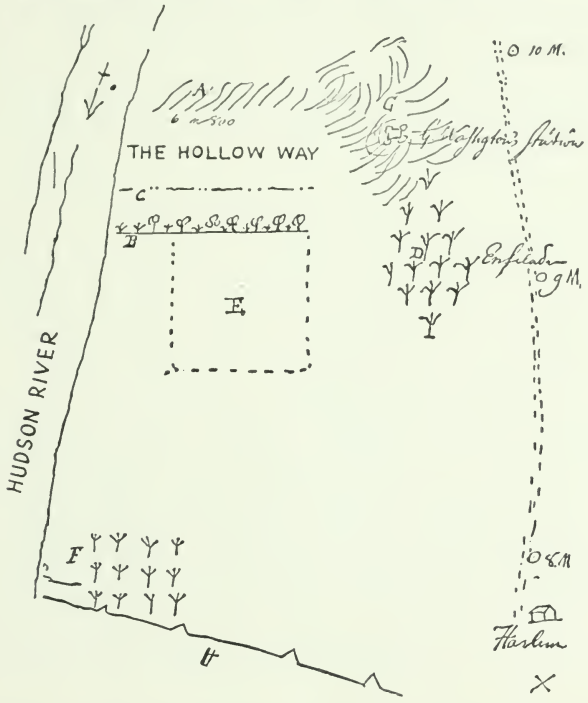
[37] Johnston, p. 178: Recollections of Judge Burnham.

[38] Johnston, p. 135, 137: Correspondence of Adj. Gen. Reed, dated Sept. 17 and Sept. 22, 1776.

[39] Johnston, p. 177. Correspondence of Col Tilghman; p. 153: Correspondence of Capt. John Gooch of Hitchcock's Regiment of Rhode Islanders; p. 119: correspondence of Capt. Gustavus Brown Wallace of Weedon's 3rd Virginia.

[40] Pension Records, already cited.

The order for an immediate attack upon the British flank was in direct contradiction to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief which were that no attack was to be made until the enemy's rear had been reached.[41] No one has ever named the officer who changed Washington's order from an attack on the rear to an



Contemporary Sketch of the Battle Ground, from the *Battle of Harlem Plains: Oration* . . . 1876, by John Jay, published by the New York Historical Society. By courtesy of that Society. The words "Hudson River" and "The Hollow Way" have been inserted for this reproduction. A, Where the action began. B, Fence behind which the enemy rallied at first. C, Fence from which Americans attacked. D, Position of Virginia and Maryland riflemen who enfiladed the enemy. E, Buckwheat field. F. Orchard where the English attempted unsuccessfully to rally. G, Where Washington overlooked the battle. The action occurred in the area between the present 110th and 135th Streets.

immediate attack on the flank. Washington mentions the order as being given by an "inferior officer" meaning, of course, inferior to himself, the Commander-in-Chief. It is the considered opinion of this writer that the order was given by General Putnam.

Col. Knowlton was too experienced an officer to take orders

[41] Johnston, p. 178; Burnham, p. 135, 173; Reed, Washington's General Orders, Sept. 17, 1776, p. 162; see also Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington.*

from any except a commanding officer and General Putnam was his, Knowlton's, commanding officer. Major Leitch was under Col. Knowlton's command; otherwise Leitch would never have ignored the protests and opposition of an officer of Col. Reed's rank and authority. So, ignoring Washington's direct command, regardless of Col. Reed's protest, they mounted the rocky ridge that separated them from the British and attacked them upon their flank. When Major Leitch fell seriously wounded, Col. Reed removed him from the field, then rejoined Washington at his post of observation at the Point of Rocks. This was a high place overlooking the field of battle as far to the south as the British lines. Col. Knowlton was next mortally wounded and carried from the field, Capt. Brown continuing in command of the Rangers.[42] The entire engagement was then being fought under captains. Washington, seeing they needed reinforcements, sent in three companies of riflemen from Col. Griffith's Western Marylanders under Major Mantz who joined with the Virginia riflemen, and a detachment of Eastern troops who appear to have been absorbed into Knowlton's Rangers, and Col. Richardson's Eastern Shoremen.[43] In the meantime the troops for the frontal attack, the 3rd Virginia regiment and Price's companies, who were on the right of Hitchcock's men, and the Southern Maryland battalion of Flying Camp, who were on their left, heard the sound of battle which was their signal to attack. To quote one of their number, " Never did troops go to the field with more cheerfulness and alacrity, when there began a heavy fire on both sides. . . . Our brave Southern troops dislodged [the British] from their posts " [44] and continued to dislodge them from the fences and bushes and pushed them up the hill. On reaching the flanking position, the left wing of the American troops under Col. Ewing merged with the right wing into one front, and launched a spirited attack,[45] having assumed the following formation: On the extreme left, the Rangers and the New England detachment

[42] Johnston, p. 155: Correspondence of Capt. Stephen Brown of Knowlton's Rangers.

[43] Johnston, p. 139: Washington's Report to Congress, Sept. 18, 1776; p. 132-136, Adj. Gen. Reed's Correspondence, p. 175-177: Correspondence of Col. Tilghman.

[44] Johnston, p. 156: Letter to a Gentleman in Annapolis.

[45] Johnston, p. 137: Correspondence of Adj. Gen. Reed, p. 120: Correspondence of Capt. Gustavus Wallace.

from Sargent's Massachusetts regiment, then the riflemen from the 3rd Virginia and the 1st Maryland Flying Camp; then Richardson's Eastern Shoremen and Ewing's Southern Marylanders.[46]

At the first headlong attack by these combined units, the enemy retreated about 200 paces. This brought them to the edge of a woods where they again found cover behind fences and bushes. Our men attacked them again and brought a

couple of Field Pieces to bear upon them which fairly put them to flight with two Discharges only. The Second Time our People pursued them closely to the top of a hill about 400 paces distant where they received a very Considerable Reinforcement and made their Second Stand.[47]

This action drove the British south through the woods and into a buckwheat field. Until this time the British force consisted of two battalions of light infantry, the 42nd Highlanders, and three companies of Hessian Yagers commanded by Brigadier General Leslie,[48] but now Col. von Donop as well as the British regiment next in line were ordered to move up to their support, and " two three-Pounders, Brass, with Lt. Wallace, Royal Artillery " were brought into action; 60 rounds of ammunition were fired from each before they were captured by Knowlton's Rangers [49] on the eastern edge of the buckwheat field. The Americans also received reinforcements at this point and closely pursued the British forces who were pushed from the woods into the buckwheat field. The fighting there was very sharp and lasted about two hours. The Marylanders attacked with the bayonet. These troops, though

[46] No exact data can be given for this arrangement of the American troops. It is the final opinion after consulting a mass of material upon this subject and represents many hours of work. It is believed that any student of this subject will be in agreement with this distribution of the troops, if he checks the references in this article. It seems probable that the Baltimore and Harford County Flying Camp under Col. Josias Carvil Hall had not been sent to New York as yet, but were still at Red Bank with General Mercer or at Fort Lee, New Jersey, enroute to New York.

[47] Johnston, p. 143-4: Correspondence of Gen. George Clinton, Sept. 21, 1776. The artillery here mentioned undoubtedly were the two companies of cannoneers from Annapolis associated with Ewing's Southern Marylanders, as the commander of the Continental Artillery, Col. Knox, makes no mention in correspondence of this date of having had any part in this action.

[48] Johnston, p. 166: Gordon's *History of the American War.*

[49] Johnston, p. 225: Hessian Account of the Action, p. 223; Journal of Capt. John Montresor, Engineer, and aide to Howe. The guns were at McGowan's Pass. No horses being near, they were hauled by hand and brought into action against the Americans in the buckwheat field, p. 179; Recollections of Judge Oliver Burnham of Knowlton's Rangers.

young and green, charged with great bravery, they " gave two fires " and rushed right forward which drove the enemy first from the woods to the buckwheat field and then from the buckwheat field into an orchard, then across a hollow and up another hill near their own lines.

The right wing of the American front consisted of the 3rd Virginia under Col. Weedon, Major Price's three Independent Maryland Companies and Nixon's New England Brigade. Col. Weedon was ordered out at the beginning of the engagement to maintain a particular post in front. Capt. Montresor notes in his *Journal* " the Enemy [the Americans] attempted to cut off our left, getting around between our left and Hudson's River." This move must have been spear-headed by Weedon's Virginians with Major Price's three Independent Maryland Companies, replacing the three companies of riflemen that were detached and sent to reinforce Knowland's Rangers. Weedon's position continued on the extreme right. Their operations carried them into the open ground between the buckwheat field and the river and brought them under the guns of the British ships where " the grape shot flew thick eno' for once." [50]

After the troops under Lt. Col. Crary were rallied, Nixon's brigade of 900 men, which included Little's Massachusetts Regiment as well as Hitchcock's Rhode Islanders, were ordered out. They stood the enemy's fire well, advancing across the Hollow Way

> marching up in good order through their fire till within 70 yards, when we engaged them in that situation, we engaged them for one hour and eight minutes, when the enemy broke and ran, we pursued them to the next heights, when we were ordered to retreat. Our loss does not exceed in killed and wounded twenty-five men, the loss of the Enemy was considerable but cannot be ascertained.[51]

The question arises, why were these troops withdrawn from combat at the very time that this battle was at the hottest as experienced by the New England Rangers, and the Marylanders and Virginians. One of the officers from Little's Massachusetts Regiment wrote " our People . . . fote them . . . till they got under Cover of their ships, which was in North River, then our

[50] Johnston's, p. 223: Journal of Capt. Montresor. See also Journal of Dr. Ezra Stiles, Sept. 27, 1776; Johnston, p. 64.
[51] Johnston, p. 153: Capt. Gooch's letter to Fayerweather.

People Left them." [52] An examination of historical maps indicate that when they were withdrawn from combat they had reached the level ground on the Hudson River near what is now Grant's Tomb.

Weedon was then reinforced by a Connecticut Regiment commanded by Col. Douglas—this was one of those which had run the day before—and by another regiment, not identified, which had also taken part in the fiasco of the day before. One of these soldiers writes of the action on September 16th:

> Our regiment was now ordered into the field, and we arrived on the ground just as the retreating army were entering a thick wood, a circumstance as disagreeable to them as it was agreeable to us. . . . We soon came into action with them. The troops engaged being reinforced by our regiment kept them still retreating, until they found shelter under the cannon of some of their shipping, lying in the North River. We remained on the battle ground till nearly sun-set, expecting the enemy to attack us again, but they showed no such inclination that day.[53]

The Reverend David Griffith, rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, who was surgeon and chaplain of the 3rd Virginia Regiment,[54] had this to say of the reinforcements: " I must mention that the two Yankee Regiments who ran on Sunday fought tollerably well on Monday and in some measure retrieved their reputation."

From the lay of the land the Marylanders and Virginians would have converged after leaving the buckwheat field and together pushed the enemy through the orchard toward their own lines. It was then about 3 o'clock in the afternoon.[55]

Washington had remained at his post at the Point of Rocks overlooking the battlefield. To get a more extended view he placed a man with a field glass in a tree top. This man reported a large body of British soldiers advancing at double quick. It developed that these were Hessians under Col. von Donop as

[52] Johnston, p. 174: Letter of Lt. Joseph Hodgkins of Little's Mass. Regt.
[53] Johnston, p. 181: Account by James S. Martin, soldier in Col. Douglas' Conn. Regt.
[54] Johnston, p. 171-172: Letter of the Rev. David Griffith incorrectly listed as Col. David Griffith of Maryland. Several writers have confused Chaplain Griffith with Col. Charles Greenbury Griffith, commander of the 1st Battalion, Maryland Flying Camp.
[55] Johnston, p. 139-145: Report and correspondence of General George Clinton of New York, observer in Battle of Harlem Heights; p. 177: Col. Tench Tilghman.

well as the British Regiment next in line to him, which had received orders to move up to the support of Gen. Leslie's hard pressed troops.[56] Upon receiving this report Washington, wishing to avoid a general engagement, sent his aides into the field to recall his troops. It may not have been easy to do as they were flushed with victory and had the enemy retreating before them. " The pursuit of a flying Enemy was so new a scene that it was with Difficulty our men could be brought to retreat—" but " they gave a hurra and left the Field in good Order." [57]

General Leslie's reinforcement arrived just in time to save his army. Col. von Donop reported that " But for my Yagers, two Regiments of Highlanders would all perhaps have been captured." According to Capt. George Harris, they " were trotted about three miles (without a halt to draw breath)." Upon their arrival it was found that " no Yager had any ammunition left, and all the Highlanders had fired their last shot." [58]

According to General George Clinton's observation, " The action, in the whole lasted about four hours," from 11 a. m. to 3 p. m. The Rev. Mr. Griffith wrote that " the Maryland and Virginia troops were principally engaged and have received the General's thanks."

Major Nicholas Fish of New York states that " Our brave and heroic Marylanders, Virginians, &c. made a Noble and resolute stand against the Efforts of the Enemy."

Said one writer to " a Gentleman in Annapolis ": " General Washington gave great applause to our Maryland troops for their gallant behavior."

Capt. Gustavus Wallace Brown wrote that the troops that were engaged " got Genl. Washington's thanks yesterday [Sept. 17th] in publick orders—the Virginia Regiment has got great honours in this action."

Col. Tench Tilghman said: " The prisoners we took, told us, they expected our men would have run away as they did the day before, but that they were never more surprised than to see us

[56] Johnston, p. 225: Hessian account of the action. The Hessian reinforcement included Chasseurs, Grenadiers and Yagers.

[57] Johnston, p. 131: Washington's Report to Congress, Sept. 18, 1776; p. 135: Adj. Gen. Reed's letter to his wife, Sept. 17, 1776; p. 177: Col. Tench Tilghman's correspondence, Sept. 19, 1776.

[58] Johnston, p. 255: Hessian Account of the Action; p. 207: letter of Capt. George Harris; p. 226-227: Report of Major C. L. Baurmeister.

advancing to attack them. The Virginia and Maryland troops bear the Palm." [59]

Another writes: "I have the pleasure to inform you our men behaved with bravery and intrepidity, putting the enemy to flight when in open ground and forcing them from posts they had seized two or three times."

In Washington's General Orders for September 16, 1776, the parole was "Bell" and the countersign was "Maryland." This was in honor of the Flying Camp, General Beall (pronounced Bell) being its commander. The formation of the outpost for that night is also interesting. The line extended from the North (Hudson) River to the road leading from New York to Kingsbridge along the heights commanding the Hollow Way. General Clinton's New York troops were to form next to the North River and extend to the left. "General Scott's Brigade [New York militia] were next to General Clinton's. Lt. Col. Sayer of Col. Griffith's Regiment, with the three companies intended for a reinforcement today, to form upon the left of Scott's Brigade." In this manner Washington gave public explanation of the reason why these companies were withheld from the action which gave their Regiment such high honors. This disposition placed them at the elbow of the picket line where three roads met and formed a direct route from the British general headquarters in New York to General Washington's headquarters on the Heights. They occupied a position of great responsibility.[60]

General MacDougall's Pennsylvanians held the picket line from the Morris House (Washington's headquarters) down to the Flying Camp line. Col. Weedon's Virginians and Major Price's Maryland companies, Gen. Nixon's and Col. Sergeant's units (the New England troops who had that day fought with them and proved their mettle) were "to retire to their quarters and refresh themselves, but to hold themselves in readiness to turn out at a minute's warning."

The Rangers had had a long and gruelling day which began before dawn and only ended when the troops were recalled from

[59] For these commendatory remarks, see Johnston, p. 120, 141, 152, 157, 172, 177.

[60] This may have been the occasion that gave rise to the tradition told by our grandmothers and handed down by their grandmothers "that whenever Washington was in a tight spot he always said 'place the Marylanders on guard tonight.'"

action.[61] Their long marches, two engagements with the enemy and the loss of a beloved leader certainly justified the complete rest that they were given, while the intrepid action of the Maryland Flying Camp which culminated in the two hours' strenuous hand-to-hand encounter with bayonets [62] in the buckwheat field were also allowed complete rest.

In the General Orders of the next day, September 17, the parole was " Leitch " and the Countersign " Virginia." General Washington heartily thanked the troops commanded by Major Leitch who first advanced on the enemy and the others who so resolutely supported them. At the same time he gave precise orders as to what officers had the authority to deliver orders and counter-orders from the commander-in-chief. He spoke highly of Col. Knowlton as an " honour to any country " and ordered Captain Stephen Brown to take command of Knowlton's Rangers.

Praise of the bravery of the southern troops swept through the country at the same high rate of speed as did condemnation of those who retreated with such velocity on Sunday. It even crossed to England.[63] In Congress this news might have been expected to cause satisfaction and renewed hope for the cause in which all were so seriously involved. Such was not the reaction in all cases, however. It changed John Adams' feelings from a " heart almost broken with sorrow and mortification " because of the defeat on Sunday to one filled with hot anger at the events of Monday. In a letter to Col. Henry Knox, commander of the Continental artillery, he asks:

> Pray tell me Col. Knox, does every man to the southwest of the Hudson River behave like a hero, and every one to the northeast of it like a poltroon, or not? The rumours, reports and letters which come here upon occasion represent the New England troops as cowards running away perpetually, and the southern troops as standing bravely. I wish I could know whether it is true. I want to know for the government of my own conduct; because, if the New England men are a pack of cowards, I would resign my place in Congress where I should not choose to represent poltroons, and remove to some southern colony, where I could enjoy the society of heros.[64]

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[61] Johnson, p. 179: Recollections of Judge Burnham.

[62] *Letters* of Earl Percy, p. 71. In this encounter the Maryland troops used the manoeuver that Lord Percy stated they were unacquainted with. It was also used on Long Isalnd, but Percy was at the opposite end of the line of battle on that occasion.

[63] Ford, *Writings*, IV, 408. See quotation from *London Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1776.

[64] Works of John Adams, I, 256; J. Q. Adams, *op. cit.*

The widespread talk and sectional rivalry was exceedingly objectionable to Washington. He needed the support of all the colonies in order to win the war and he sought to minimize rather than exaggerate local differences. Not only that but, to quote Tench Tilghman, he (Washington) was " the honestest man that I believe ever Adorned human Nature." He hated that injustice should be done to any peoples. This is shown in the following letter to John Custis: [65]

It is painful to me to hear such illiberal reflections upon Eastern troops as you say prevails in Virginia. I always have, and always shall say that I do not believe that any states produce better men or persons capable of making better soldiers. . . . Equal injustice is done them, in depriving them of merit in other respects; for no people fly to arms readier than they do, or come better equipped, or with more regularity into the field than they.

Washington had always been in close touch with Maryland and was the personal friend of many Marylanders. Before the Revolution he is known to have visited Annapolis eleven times in one year. Generals Greene and von Steuben, visiting Maryland en route to the Southern theatre of War, expressed surprise at finding how universal Washington's popularity was in this State. It also should be remembered that his two most confidential aides were Marylanders.[66] His close connection with the State continued after the war and always, whenever possible, his old soldiers flocked to meet him. In July, 1791, he visited Frederick and said a few words to his friends before he left:

. . . I cannot leave you, fellow-citizens, without thanking you again and again for your kind greeting; for the true and devoted friendship you have shown me. When in the darkest hours of the Revolution, of doubt and gloom, the succor and support I received from the people of Frederick County always cheered me. It always awoke a responsive echo in my breast. I feel the emotion of gratitude beating in my heart,—my heart is too full to say more. God bless you all.[67]

This address happened to be delivered in Frederick but the sentiment would have been equally true in any other part of Maryland.

[65] Johnston, p. 164: Journal of Dr. Ezra Stiles, Oct. 9, 1776.
[66] *Memoir of Tilghman*, p. 42-43.
[67] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, I, 553. (Philadelphia: Everts, 1882.)

THE MARYLAND CROSS DWELLING[1]

By Henry Chandlee Forman

Illustrated by the author

The medieval cruciform house was as popular in Maryland as in Virginia. Like those of the Old Dominion, the Maryland examples were merely buildings of hall-and-parlor type, or of central-passage category, with a porch added to the front and a stair tower, or other kind of wing, at the rear. It is unfortunate that three seventeenth-century examples, of the four known in the Free State, have been destroyed.[2]

The Brick State House of 1676 in St. Mary's City (Fig. 1), now reconstructed as a Tercentenary memorial, was probably the most imposing. Until its destruction in 1829, it stood, a venerable pile, overlooking the St. Mary's River. In appearance it was a full two storeys all around, with a porch and a porch chamber on the front, and a stair tower at the back. The spacious vestibule on the river bluff had three brick arches, like those at Malvern Hill in Virginia, and the stair tower possessed a " private door to open into the Garden." The wrought-iron casements had rectangular panes, and there were mullions and transom bars. Inside, the great summer beams were sixteen-by-twelves. The roof carried the medieval pantile, and the front and rear wings appear to have had " pyramids " or hips.[3]

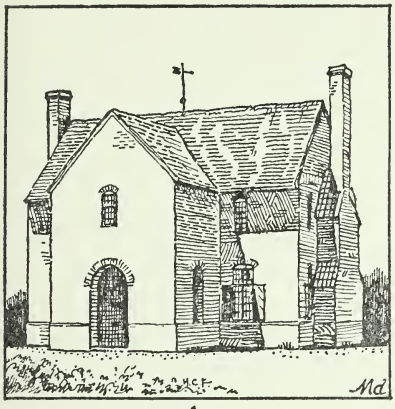
In the landscape of Old England the porch and porch chamber were common features. One finds them, for instance, at Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire,[4] built in 1520, and at Little Warley

[1] A chapter from the forthcoming book, *The Architecture of the Old South*, scheduled to be published in the autumn of 1948 by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Copyright 1948 by H. C. Forman.

[2] The fourth seventeenth-century cross house is the well known old Treasury at Annapolis, built about 1698 and standing today.

[3] H. C. Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's* (Baltimore, 1938) 285. *Archives of Maryland*, II, 404-406. A pantile is an S-shaped clay tile about 13½ inches long.

[4] H. A. Tipping, *English Homes of the Early Renaissance*, period II, vol. 1 (London, 1924) p. 119.



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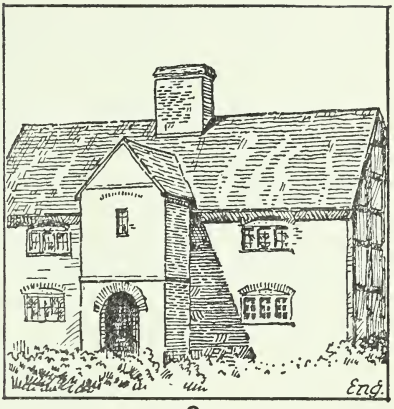

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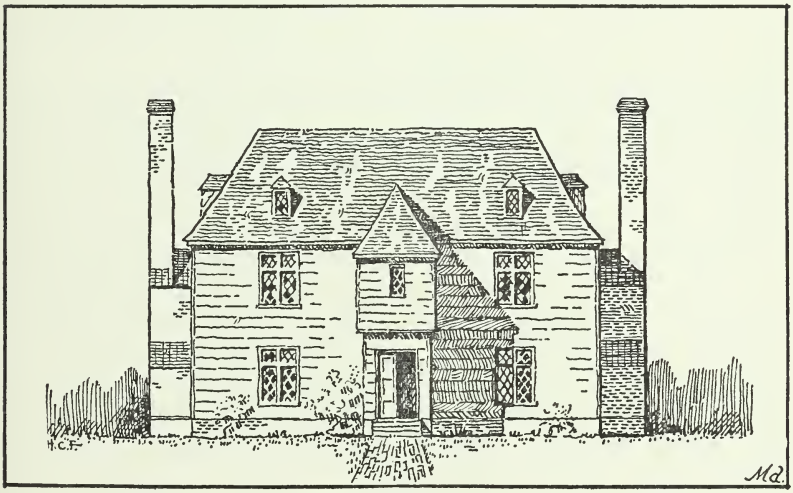


3

MEDIEVAL CROSS HOUSES IN MARYLAND AND ENGLAND

1. The Brick State House of 1676, St. Mary's City, Maryland. Reconstructed in 1934. Compare with Fig. 2.
2. Brick house between Frosbury and Littlefield Farm, Surrey, England, 1670. After W. G. Davie, *Old Cottages and Farmhouses in Surrey* (London: Batsford, 1908).
3. The Court House, Talbot County, Maryland, 1680. A cross house with a "court hall" at the rear. Reconstruction drawing by author from specifications in the *Archives of Maryland*.

Hall, Essex, of the same vintage. On the road between Frosbury and Littlefield Farm in Surrey, England, there stands a brick house (Fig. 2) of 1670 date which is in appearance much like the Brick State House of 1676. At Rodd Court, Herefordshire, is another brick vestibule and porch chamber of the year 1629.[5]

A second cross house in Maryland was the wooden Talbot County Court House on the Eastern Shore (Fig. 3). The order for its erection was enacted in 1679, but it was not actually constructed until 1680-81. In size it was about the same area as the Brick State House at St. Mary's; however, the rear wing was not a stair tower, but a court " hall." In some respects the Talbot County structure was stylistically in advance of its time, because it had an " Italian " or " hip't " roof, with hipped dormers. The windows were leaded casements, and there were " two stacks of brick chimneys," rising from four fireplaces large enough to take eight-foot logs. The stairway, too, was perhaps slightly in advance of its date, for it is described as being a fair " open well " stair—that is, one passing in straight flights around a square room. Such a stairway was instituted in England about 1600, and was criticized as a waster of space because it left an open well in the center of the stairs.[6]

Be that as it may, the most interesting of the cross houses of Maryland was Bond Castle (Figs. 4, 5), erected some time in the late seventeenth century upon the Chesapeake Bay shore of Calvert County.[7] The habitation, *mal à propos*, was torn down to make room for an ugly farm structure. Such became the fate of the most significant rural edifice of Maryland. A first glimpse of Bond Castle from the Bay showed a timber-framed dwelling with steeply-pointed gables and two tall chimneys with inset arches.

[5] *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of England . . . An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire* (London, 1931-34), III, pl. 164.

[6] H. Braun, *The Story of the English House* (London, 1940), p. 93.

[7] Fig. 4 is reproduced on the cover of this issue. Reconstruction drawing by the author of the only known example in the United States of a cross house having a front vestibule with turned spindles.

The author was told that a chimney brick had a date, 1735, upon it. Such figures do not necessarily mean the date of erection of the original house. See photographs of Bond Castle, and drawing, in H. C. Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, Md., 1934), pp. 57, 62, 63; and A. L. Sioussat, *Old Manors of the Colony of Maryland*, 2nd series (Baltimore, 1913); and F. Kimball, *The Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York, 1927).

The main part of the house was only storey-and-loft, but the front and rear porches were two full storeys high. At each gable of the central portion, low wings had been added at a later time to balance exactly the composition: one a kitchen, the other a bedroom. The external appearance of the old pile was particularly striking because of the overhangs or " jetties " of the front porch chamber, the rear porch chamber, and the peaked gables above them. In truth, at Bond Castle was the only known example of an overhang among the cross houses of the Old South.

The jetty, or overhanging floor, seems to have been introduced into England from the Continent of Europe in the fifteenth century. Its origin is due to the medieval method of laying the joists flat, thereby causing a shaky or " dancing " floor; such rickety floors were stabilized by the formation of the jetty, where the weight of the overhanging wall rested on the projecting joists, in this manner.

The most important feature of Bond Castle was the front porch, which was decorated with *turned wooden spindles* (Fig. 6) set in the enclosing wall, and with a curvilinear head on the entrance doorway. Nowhere else in America is there known to have been a seventeenth-century enclosed vestibule with spindles. When Bond Castle was pulled down, a unique architectural monument of medieval style was demolished for all time.

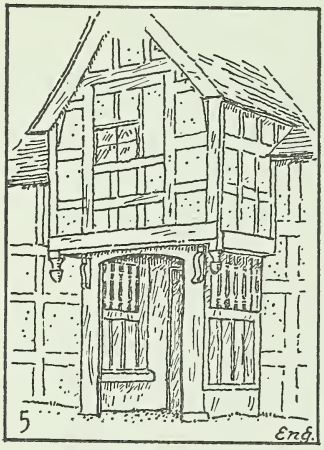
In England the turned spindle was a Jacobean feature employed in the 1500's, and especially about 1600. There are many existing examples, among which are Hope Farm [8] of the sixteenth century, in Edvin Loach, Herefordshire, where the two-storey porch has thick, turned balusters, and also benches on which to sit; Parsonage Farm (Fig. 5), at Much Cowarne, in the same shire, dating from about 1600; and a house at Bourton-on-the Water, Gloucestershire, where the porch spindles are stone.[9]

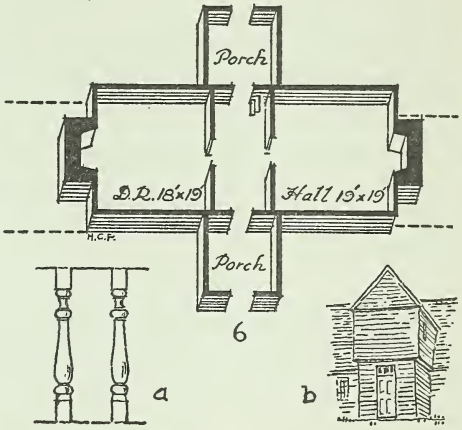
The origin of the vestibule with spindles and seats, as exemplified by Bond Castle and the English examples listed above, is undoubtedly derived from the parish church in England. Most of these churches have small side vestibules with benches and *traceried* windows. It was an obvious step from the wooden

[8] *Royal Commission . . . An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire* (London, 1931-34), vol. II, pl. 31.

[9] A. T. Broadbent and A. Minoprio, *Minor Architecture of Goucestershire* (London, 1931), pl. 6.

mullions of the fifteenth-century Aconbury Church porch, for instance, to the finished, turned balusters of the seventeenth-century church porch of Holy Trinity, Bradwell, Essex.[10] The baluster which looks like a slat on the late fourteenth-century vestibule at Lower Marston manor-house, Pencombe, Herefordshire, may well form the transitional or intermediary step between Gothic mullion and Jacobean baluster or spindle.





5. Parsonage Farm, Much Cowarne, Herefordshire, England, c. 1600, showing a porch with turned spindles or balusters. After *Royal Commission . . . An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire* (London: 1931-34), vol. II.

6. Bond Castle, Calvert County, Maryland, late 17th century. Block floor plan. Detail of turned spindles, *a*. Rear view, *b*.

The curvilinear head of the doorway in the entrance porch of Bond Castle was also a Jacobean or Flemish feature. The curve was an ogee in the form of a cupid's bow. A coeval English example is the curve on the north porch door head of sixteenth-century Pitchford Hall, Shropshire.

The interior of Bond Castle was almost as interesting as the exterior. The house was entered from the front porch by means of a battened door. A nine-foot wide passageway connected the entrance vestibule with the back porch, and at the rear of this passage stood a tiny winding staircase leading up to the attic bed-

[10] *Royal Commission . . . An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire* (London, 1931-34), vol. I, pl. 80; III, pl. 42, 108; . . . *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Essex* (London, 1916-23), vol. III, p. 7.

rooms. Dining room and great hall flanked the passage on either side, each being about nineteen feet square—the dining room perhaps a foot shorter. Both rooms had open beam ceilings. The dining room had a chimney ten feet square, and the great fireplace was capacious enough to hold a seven-foot timber. The mantelpiece had Gothic mouldings, and the over-mantel mural paintings. The central panel was painted, it is supposed, to represent the English home of the Bond family, and the flanking panels showed flower vases. On each side of the fireplace were battened doors with small latches and strap hinges. How eloquently Bond Castle spoke of a deep-rooted medievalism in America!

THE STORY OF MOUNT WASHINGTON, MARYLAND *

By B. Latrobe Weston

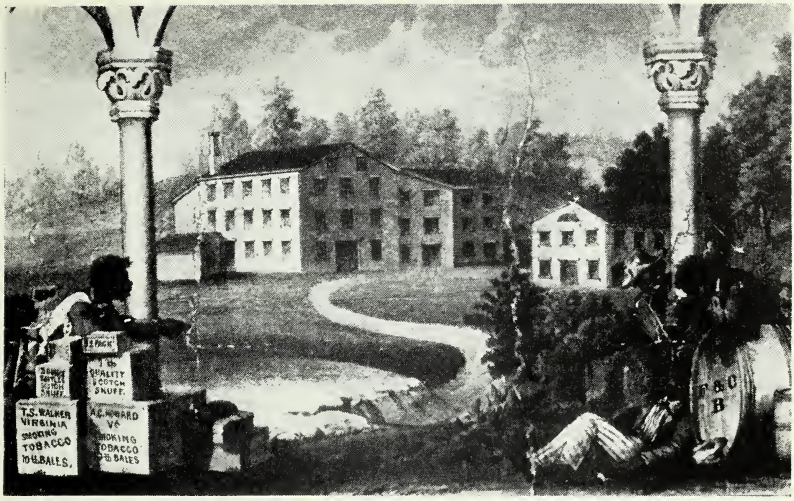
Mt. Washington, prosperous and expanding, sits on its hills and, looking back over a period nearly approaching 140 years, meditates on its beginning in a few houses in the vicinity of a cotton mill in the valley of Jones Falls.

The miniature village was distinguished by the name Washingtonville, said to have been derived from a nearby tavern. According to Scharf's Chronicles of Baltimore, the Washington Cotton Manufacturing Company informed the public on March 16, 1810 that construction had been completed and that their plant was now actually in operation. This was the first cotton mill in Maryland, driven by water power and beginning with 288 spindles. The original mill building is standing to-day, although now used only as a warehouse and completely surrounded by the brick structures of the Maryland Nut and Bolt Company. It is four stories in height including the mansard roof, and is so solidly constructed of stone masonry that it bids fair to last forever. At its east end, in its framework above the roof, hangs the bell that formerly summoned the operatives to hours of labor.

Growth of the community was slow for a number of years; the only link with Baltimore was the Falls Road which charged toll fees, and was badly rutted and at times almost impassable. With the advent, however, in 1830 of the Baltimore and Susque-

* Dr. Josiah S. Bowen, Jr. died at his home in Mt. Washington in 1944 at the comparatively early age of sixty-four. He was graduated in medicine from the University of Maryland in 1903, and following in the steps of his father, Dr. Josiah S. Bowen, Sr., practiced in Mt. Washington until 1914. In that year he was appointed Deputy State and County Health Officer for Baltimore County, and was so continued until his retirement in 1940.

During his retirement, being precluded by a heart condition from much physical activity, he rendered a public service by assembling elaborate information concerning every phase of life in Mt. Washington from its beginning as a mill village in 1810. It has been my privilege and pleasure to construct from Dr. Bowen's material a continuous narrative of the growth and development of the community.



Snuff Mill of Forysthe and Cole on Western Run near Cross Country Boulevard, Mount Washington.

From an advertising poster owned by Mrs. J. S. Bowen, Jr.

Mount Washington Railway Station about 1895, looking North Weidey's Store at left.

From photograph owned by Mrs. Bowen.

hannah Railroad, afterwards merged into the Northern Central, a new period of activity began; and, in the decade following, two rows of brick dwellings arose in the vicinity of the mill, denoting homes for the operatives. The mill continued in operation under successive managers until the difficult period of the Civil War, when it went out of business. A few years later the property was purchased by William E. Hooper, and the Hooper family kept the mill active until 1918, when it was sold to the Maryland Nut and Bolt Company.

A still existing memorial of the time when the mill was in operation is to be seen in the store on Falls Road directly facing the east end of the present viaduct. The store has been remodeled and much altered in appearance, but it still incorporates the original building which dates, according to accredited tradition, from as far back as the building of the mill itself in 1810. For the reason that in 1886 it was run by Sylvester and Patrick Roche, who conducted a hay, feed and grain business, it was known as Roche's Store, and was continued in operation until Sylvester Roche's death in 1907. On the front door for many years after 1868 was a high-water mark of the great flood of that year.

On the north side of the viaduct, so close in fact as to be almost underneath it, stands the Methodist Church, a commodious building, its lower story of stone, its upper of frame construction. The corner stone of this Church was laid in 1860, but this does not mean that no services were held in the village by the Methodists prior to that date. The territory was included in what was known as the "Summerfield Circuit," and there is evidence that Methodist services were regularly conducted from a date early in the century in a hall on the Falls Road. In a pamphlet published in 1908 by the Rev. Wilbur Watkins, giving a sketch of the history of St. John's Church, Mt. Washington, he narrates that information had come to him from reliable sources that when Mr. William Woodward, an Episcopalian, was in charge of the mill in the year 1822, he established and conducted a Sunday School; and that when he left the village he turned the school over to the Methodists, since there were at that time no Episcopalians to take charge of it.

Mr. Woodward lived to a great old age and was afterwards Superintendent for more than fifty years of the Sunday School of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Druid Hill Avenue and Lanvale

Street. This brings a personal recollection since, as a boy, I attended that Sunday School until I was eleven or twelve years old. Vividly do I remember Mr. Woodward's venerable appearance as, each Sunday morning, he visited every class and bestowed an individual hand-clasp on each teacher and scholar.

Mr. Charles Blake, an Eastern Shore man came to Mt. Washington in 1863, and was prominent in the Methodist Church until his death, thirty years later, in 1893. Throughout this period he kept a note book relating to the affairs of the church, and this records some interesting details. The church was twice destroyed by fire and twice rebuilt, in the years 1871 and 1881. It was in the second rebuilding that the upper story of frame construction was added to what had been up to that time a one-story building. The church was inundated in the great flood of 1868, and a melodeon was floated out and was afterwards found at Melvale. The land on which the church stands had been donated by William E. Hooper, who purchased the mill property, and the bell of the mill for many years rang to summon to all services.

Of the long list of resident pastors one, Rev. Hobart Smith pastor from 1873 to 1875, was afterwards well-known in the region of the Green Spring Valley. He became an Episcopal minister and was rector from 1888 to 1923 of St. Thomas' Church, Garrison Forest, where many of the families in the Green Spring Valley and in the country lying northward, attend. And after his retirement on account of age he served as Chaplain of Hannah More Academy, Reisterstown, until his death in 1934.

The poet Longfellow happily immortalized the village blacksmith before, giving place to the automobile mechanic, he passed wholly from the scene. For a period much longer than fifty years Mt. Washington included among its inhabitants a village blacksmith. On the west side of the Falls Road, a little south of the former Roche's store, Milton Willey practiced blacksmithing prior to 1871. Earlum Buckley came from Rockland and took over the shop and dwelling in January 1871. Earlum Buckley had several sons and one of them, George Buckley, succeeded to the business when his father retired in 1882. George Buckley built a new shop and residence on the east side of Falls Road and, combining carriage-building with blacksmithing, pursued his calling until 1927, when he retired.

I knew Mr. Buckley quite well before his retirement. He was of

good height, well-built and muscular; and I feel confident in affirming that, like Longfellow's blacksmith, " the muscles of his brawny arms were strong as iron bands." He lives to-day in his home on the hill above his former workshop.

The group of houses west of the Falls Road and north of Belvedere Avenue, although not, strictly speaking, belonging to Mt. Washington, merits, nevertheless, a brief account of its origin and development. In the year 1860, Charles Lewis Mattfeldt came to Mt. Washington and for five years conducted a general store business. In 1865 he purchased a farm of 72 acres bounded on the west by Jones Falls and extending eastward across the Falls Road to include the property later known as Court McSherry. The southern boundary of the tract was Belvedere Avenue, and it spread northward to a corner just south of the present viaduct where Jones Falls and the Falls Road come close together. In 1873 Mr. Mattfeldt sold Court McSherry to Mr. Harry Lehr, German Consul in Baltimore, father of the famous Harry Lehr of Baltimore, New York and Paris. Mr.Lehr subsequently conveyed the property to Richard McSherry, who made it his home for many years, and from whom it acquired its name. It has since then become the Egenton Home for Girls, a privately endowed institution, but under the direction of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore. In the same year in which he disposed of Court McSherry, Mr. Mattfeldt built a home for himself on the summit of the steep hill over-looking Jones Falls at the southwest corner of his property, and occupied it until his death in the year 1882. The house is now designated 1309 Belvedere Avenue.

Mr. Mattfeldt's son, Otto Martin Mattfeldt, beginning in 1888 built the four houses between his father's home, now his own, and the Falls Road. And between 1886 and the mid-nineties following, he opened Mattfeldt and Sabina Avenues through his property to the north of Belvedere Avenue and built the houses that constitute the development bordering on these streets.

If we take a ride westward on Smith Avenue and turn in to the right by a rough roadway, just short of the little assemblage of houses known as the Bare Hills group, we shall come immediately upon a rubbish heap, and in it an opening almost filled up encircled by what was evidently a fence of very heavy metal, now, however, lying prone on the ground. This small depression, insignificant as it is, denotes what was formerly a very deep shaft,

giving access to a copper mine. About the time of the establishment of the cotton-mill Seraphim Belli, a Baltimore brass-worker, purchased the tract known to-day as the Bare Hills and discovered copper on his property. It was not until many years later, however, some time prior to 1860, that copper was mined with a measure of success by Thomas Peathrick, and later by Isaac Tyson, under contract with the owner of the land. In 1860 a company, headed by William H. Kuner, was incorporated and considerable copper was mined for a number of years; but operations ceased in the early eighteen-nineties. About 1901 under a new company the mine, then full of water, was pumped out and mining was resumed; but with such poor results that the enterprise was finally abandoned.

In the preceding narrative we have several times overpassed the epochal year 1854, which marks the beginning of a development which was to transform the small industrial village into an expanding residential suburb. It was on March 24th of that year that George Gelbach Jr., with whom were associated Dr. Elias Heiner and Dr. John G. Morris, acquired by deed from Grafton Dulany and Luke Tiernan a tract to the west of the Northern Central Railroad, to be known as Mt. Washington Rural Retreat. This comprised the greater part of what is now Mt. Washington proper, including Mt. Saint Agnes, The Terraces, part of Dixon Hill and the section adjacent to South Road, as far west as the present Pollard Street, between the properties of Judge Frank and Mr. Fink. A map prepared by William Sides, surveyor at the time of the transfer, now in possession of the Mt. Washington Branch of the Pratt Library, shows Smith Avenue as already existing and the two projected avenues North (now Sulgrave) Avenue and South Road, with bordering lots and five connecting streets.

Smith Avenue, shown on the map, was, as it is to-day, the road connecting Mt. Washington ultimately with the Reisterstown Road and the country to westward. It is supposed to have been laid out in the eighteen-thirties, and takes its name from Joseph Smith, Senior, and Joseph Smith, Junior, men in whom enterprise descended from father to son. The elder Smith came to this country from England in the first decade of the eighteen hundreds, and settled in the neighborhood of what is now Mt. Washington. His son, Joseph Smith Jr., was born in 1814 and obtained his early education in a little log school house on the Old Pimlico Road.

At the age of fourteen he found employment in business in Baltimore and by 1853 had accumulated a considerable fortune. Thereafter he purchased "Wellwood," an estate on Smith Avenue which has in recent years become the Curtis Airport. He had been married in 1846, but his wife lived only two years; and from the time he took up his residence at Wellwood his sisters, Mary and Winifred, kept house for him. He died in 1894 at the age of eighty.

In June 1854 George Gelbach issued an advertising pamphlet extolling the beauties and advantages of the Mt. Washington tract. Fortunately Mr. William Conkling of Dixon Hill, of recent and venerated memory, possessed one of these pamphlets, which he presented to the Pratt Library's Mt. Washington Branch for preservation. In glowing terms the pamphlet describes the terrain as a region of hills and vales, running streams and springs of purest water; and the purpose of the development is set forth as follows:

"The design of the enterprise is to furnish to those seeking it, a healthy, retired and respectable country residence, avoiding the monotony of a village, or the crowding and confinement of the city, yet retaining the advantages of a community; in short having the conveniences of the city with the advantages of the country."

In the area included in the tract there was one piece of land that was not divided into lots, but was reserved for sale in its entirety. This was the property now occupied in part by Sacred Heart Church but which formerly extended along Smith Avenue to what is now Thornbury road, whence its boundary ran in a southwesterly direction to Western Run, its southern limit. It belonged in the past to Clover Hill Farm, a tract of large extent, which included in addition Dixon Park. The property in question was acquired in 1848 by Luke Brian, who purchased it from the executors of John Kelso, the late owner of the Farm. Luke Brian built for his home a large stone mansion stuccoed on the outside, located some distance further westward than Sacred Heart rectory, and on the slope toward Smith Avenue. He also constructed a stone wall along the entire boundary. The mansion overlooked a spacious lawn, diversified with evergreens, flower-beds and shrubbery, and nearby was a large orchard.

In 1866 the estate was purchased by Peter George Sauerwein, who named it "Glen Mary" in honor of Mary his wife. He occupied it until his death twenty years later, in 1886. Shortly

thereafter the property was rented, first to Captain William Francis Seagrave, British Consul, who rejoiced in a stature of 6ft. 8 in., and afterward to Mr. and Mrs. Parks Fisher. It was while the latter were in possession that, on May 1st, 1892, the mansion was visited by a disastrous fire started by sparks from an open fire-place, which reduced it to a ruin.

The burning of "Glen Mary" leads naturally to the story of the establishment of the Mt. Washington Fire Department. The need of the village for a fire engine had been agitated as early as 1885; but it was not until 1891 that the County Commissioners, yielding to the popular demand and stirred up by recent fires, purchased a lot on the north side of Sulgrave Ave, just back of the stores on Newbury Street, and began the construction of the engine house of green stone that is in use to-day. The first floor comprised a large room for the engine and horses and also a court room for the Squire or Justice of the Peace, with three cells for the detention of prisoners. The building was completed in June 1892 and on the 28th of the month the engine, previously purchased from the Charles T. Holloway Company, was installed. Unfortunately this was nearly two months after the fire that destroyed "Glen Mary"; had the engine been on the ground the mansion might have been saved. The engine had in fact been delivered by the Holloway Company; but, inasmuch as the building had not been ready, it had been housed in Hampden. When summoned by telephone the firemen made a valiant attempt to reach the scene of action, and the two white horses, Tom and Jerry, almost laid their bellies to the ground along Roland Avenue, Belvedere Avenue and Falls Road; but the house was already a smoking pile of rubble when the goal was attained. The route followed was preferred to the shorter route by the Falls Road, because the latter was at that time poorly surfaced and hilly.

With the burning of Glen Mary the village lost "its oldest and most aristocratic residence," according to comment at the time; and its destruction was greatly deplored.

The high lying tract, known to-day as "The Terraces," and included in the purchase of George Gelbach in 1854, was acquired about the close of the Civil War by Dr. John Cavendish Smith Monkur, who had a city residence and office on Broadway, and proposed to live in the country only during the summer. Dr. Monkur built a roadway to the summit from Smith Avenue and

constructed a frame house limited to one and a half stories on the site now occupied by the home of Marshall Jones. He laid out a lawn and decorated it with shrubbery, but did not live long to enjoy his purchase, dying in 1867. His family retained possession of the property until 1896, when it was acquired by Omar F. Hershey of the law firm of Crain and Hershey. Mr. August John Bauernschmidt, however, who was associated with the firm, formed immediately the Mt. Washington Realty Company and took over the tract from Mr. Hershey. He named it "The Terraces" and selected for his own home the site of Dr. Monkur's house. He replaced it, however, with a mansion of generous dimensions and lived in it from 1898 to 1907. He sold it to Leonard Nolley, who afterwards conveyed it to Marshall Jones, the present owner.

Of those who have lived on The Terraces I recollect with pleasure the artist Henry Whiteman, who built his home at 1605 Terrace Drive in 1907. Here he enjoyed the beautiful view across the valley from the rear windows until his death. I knew him personally at the Charcoal Club where he was instructor for a number of years. He was also on the staff of the Maryland Institute and had an established reputation as a landscape painter.

Mr. Omar Hershey built his home at 1601 Terrace Drive in 1898. He is fond of change of scene, but here he is still to be found at times during the year. In earlier days Mr. Hershey took a prominent part in the social life of the community, as will be narrated in following pages.

In addition to developing The Terraces, the Mt. Washington Realty Company in 1897 purchased the Sauerwein property, on which were still the charred remains of the old mansion. Shortly thereafter a sale was effected to George Albert Boyden, who built for himself the residence which is now the rectory of Sacred Heart Church. When asked why he did not rebuild on the original site where the ruin stood, he replied: "You can build a house, but you can't build up ruins."

Boyden had a patent on an airbrake which the Westinghouse people were anxious to secure. After long negotiation he finally accepted a settlement on terms that afforded him the means of living in ease and retirement the rest of his life.

After Boyden's death, prior to 1917, his residence and sufficient ground to accomodate a church passed by purchase from his

executors to the Roman Catholic Church; and this introduces immediately the Sisters of Mercy and the story of the establishment of Mt. Saint Agnes College.

Plainly visible to-day from Smith Avenue, on the top of the hill, in the grounds of Mt. Saint Agnes, is a brick building, four stories in height, and distinguished by its octagonal shape. It dates from the year 1855, when, on May 5th, its cornerstone was laid. A year later, on May 5th, 1856, the completed building was dedicated to educational uses as the Mt. Washington Female College. With its furnishings and twenty-one acres of land it represented an expenditure of $30,000. Its founders and contributors were evidently of the German Reformed Church, since a small church or chapel, designated St. John's German Reformed Church, was built at the foot of the hill on Smith Avenue in the same year as the College, and was consecrated by the Rev. Elias Heiner and other ministers. The College did not prosper financially since, on Dec. 15, 1860, both College and Church were sold at auction for $15,400. There were several succeeding transfers, but under new educators conduct of the College was continued until, during the Civil War, attendance of scholars was so much diminished that the institution had to be closed.

Services in the Church as an adjunct of the College were discontinued in 1861; but for several years, as a Union Chapel, the building was used at their convenience by various denominations. This was in fact the first church erected in Mt. Washington.

In January, 1867, the College, Church and adjoining acreage were purchased for the Sisters of Mercy by Charles Dougherty; and the name, Mt. Saint Agnes, was given in memory of Mr. Dougherty's wife. With seven sisters in residence a Catholic boarding school for girls was undertaken. Since then new construction has been so extensive that the original octagon building is no more than an adjunct. Here with adequate dormitories and provided with every facility, Mt. St. Agnes College for Women is conducted, and has been approved by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland. There is also a Grammar School for Boys.

In the summer months a school of instruction is carried on for the Sisters of Mercy of the Province, which includes many of the eastern and southern States.

After certain necessary additions to make room for a chancel

and altar, the church formerly St. John's Reformed Church, was re-named the Church of the Sacred Heart; and the Roman Catholic service was celebrated in it during a period of about fifty years. In the pastorate of Father Peter Tarro, from 1909 to 1915, the ground for a new church was purchased from the executors of the Boyden estate; and under Father Francis Edward Craig, who succeeded Father Tarro, the present church was erected in 1917, modeled, it is said, on the lines of St. Giles church in Stoke Poges, England, which inspired Gray's " Elegy." At some time thereafter the old church was removed.

Let us now betake ourselves to the western section of what was once Clover Hill Farm, the tract known to-day as Dixon Hill. This was purchased in 1856 by Thomas Dixon, an architect by profession, one of whose constructions was the Mt. Vernon Methodist Church. Mr. Dixon built two houses on what is now Thornbury road, but postponed further construction on account of the disturbed condition of affairs in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. It was not until he became interested in a lumber company and desired an outlet for his product, that, in 1873, he undertook active building operations. Within the decade following he planned and constructed fifteen houses, each one of which was promptly sold. These houses have all of them changed ownership or occupancy several times, but they are all occupied as homes to-day. We mention just one of them, that of Mr. William H. Conkling, former president of the Savings Bank of Baltimore. He purchased it in 1879 and lived in it until his death in 1932 at the ripe age of ninety-one years.

We shall now proceed westward, following Kelly Avenue and Cross Country Boulevard, and shall presently arrive at the bridge over Western Run where Green Spring Avenue and Old Pimlico Road come together. If we now continue a quarter of a mile or more westward along the Cross Country Boulevard, we shall see on the left hand the remnant of a dam abutting against the hillside and even the faint tracery of a mill-race. There was in fact a mill in this locality prior to 1855, but by whom it was built and operated cannot be discovered. In 1855, however, Manuel Thomas Forsyth, a cigar-maker by trade, and Louis H. Cole formed a partnership, took over and reconditioned the old mill, then out of use, and operated it as a snuff mill until some time during the Civil War, when they dissolved partnership. They manufactured

" Scotch snuff," or " Rappee snuff," putting it up into packages which they labeled " Virginia Tobacco." After the dissolution of the partnership the mill was never again operated; and it is believed that it was so much damaged by the flood of 1868 that it was practically destroyed. The two-story stone house now on the property was built about the same time as the mill, and was occupied by the owner.

In the eighteen-seventies the mill property was the scene of a tragedy in the lower walks of life. In one of several tenement houses on the land lived a colored woman and her three sons, Aquilla, Briscoe and Wesley. One night Briscoe and Wesley had a quarrel and to avoid trouble Briscoe, after some altercation, retired upstairs. When Wesley followed him Briscoe drew a pistol and warned Wesley not to come any further. Wesley disregarded the warning and Briscoe shot and killed him. In the trial that followed Briscoe was acquitted on the ground of self defense. He lived many years thereafter and became a familiar figure, pushing his hand-cart full of materials for whitewashing stables, fences and chicken-houses.

The property, covering 85 acres and known as the " Labyrinth " at the time, was purchased by Mr. Robert Holloway Hooper in 1882. In 1889 he erected a large stone dwelling on the hill overlooking the meadow-land. Here he lived until his death in 1934 in his eighty-fifth year. His wife followed him in 1938, also in her eighty-fifth year.

The Great Flood of 1868 has impressed itself indelibly upon the story of Mt. Washington as an episode of prime importance. All the streams in the vicinity of Baltimore city rose to record-breaking heights and Scharf, in his *Chronicles of Baltimore*, delivers himself as follows: " Our city on Friday July 24th was visited by one of the most appalling and destructive calamities that has overtaken it since 1837."

Thursday, July 16, 1868, was an excessively hot day, the thermometer ranging from 97 to 101 degrees in the shade. On Friday at 2 o'clock A. M. the storm began, accompanied by thunder and lightning. At 8 A. M. it increased in intensity and continued until after 2 P. M. The precipitation, lasting over a period of twelve hours, was more than sufficient to cause an extraordinary rise in Jones Falls and its tributaries. But what made the flood at Mt. Washington inevitable was the giving way of the bank

abutting the dam at Lake Roland, and the breaking of the dam at the snuff mill on Western Run and of still another dam farther down stream, belonging to an abandoned mill located just below the Boy Scout's House. This mill had burned down in 1849, but the dam still existed. At the confluence of Jones Falls and Western Run the waters rose to such a height as to reach half way up the first story of the former Roche's store. The Northern Central Railroad bridge was carried down stream and part of it was never recovered. One of the brick houses in the factory grounds was washed away, and two others were so badly undermined that they had to be demolished. There was only one fatality, but that a sad one. A boy, whom the Sisters of Mercy had undertaken to bring up, was swept from the foot-bridge which then spanned the watercourse at the entrance to Mt. Saint Agnes. Some days later his body was found in the bed of Jones Falls.

As the flood waters continued to rise the mill operatives were forced to evacuate their homes and found temporary refuge on the slopes of Mt. St. Agnes.

Let us now take a look at downtown Mt. Washington as it appeared in the last quarter of the eighteen hundreds. Our attention is immediately arrested by a brick building, three stories in height, on the south side of Sulgrave Avenue and fronting on the railroad. This building was erected by George Gelbach when the property was opened up for development and, as announced in his Prospectus, was to be " The Mt. Washington House," designed to serve as store, post-office and station room, and also to provide accommodation for guests for a longer or shorter period. It never, however, became a hotel or the local railroad station, but was operated immediately as a store and from time to time accommodated the Post Office. The first proprietor was Joseph I. Gambrill, the owner of the cotton mill. He was succeeded later in 1860, by Charles Lewis Mattfeldt who, as we have related, purchased the estate of Court McSherry. During Mr. Mattfeldt's incumbency a sad tragedy took place. His son Otto, five years old, was playing on the railroad tracks before the store with other children, among whom was Eddy Pontier. Otto failed to see an oncoming northbound train, and Eddie, in a frantic effort to save him, succeeded in pushing him from the track, but was himself struck by the engine and instantly killed. The train stopped at the station, and several passengers, alighting, hurried back to the

small group that had collected, to see what had happened. Among them was Mr. Pontier, Eddie's father, who thus, without warning, discovered the lifeless body of his son.

Mr. Mattfeldt sold the property to Charles Albert Weidey and it was known thereafter as "Weidey's Store," being conducted by the Weideys, father and son successively, during a period of more than thirty years. The son, Charles Weidey Jr., who followed his father as proprietor in 1880, made extensive additions and improvements and carried on until 1898, when he retired to become Captain of the Fire Department.

Another store was successfully conducted from 1891 to 1904 by the firm of Smith and Hamilton. The store building is still to be seen at the northwest corner of Sulgrave Avenue and Newbury Street, and is now denominated the Mt. Washington Tavern. James Hamilton of the firm passed his whole life in Mt. Washington. When he died in 1938 at the age of seventy-nine he was designated the community's oldest inhabitant, and had been familiarly known for a number of years as "Uncle Jimmy." His uncle, Robert Hamilton, purchased in 1836 ninety-one acres of land surrounding what are now the Hamilton greenhouses, and this property was afterwards acquired by his father, James Hamilton. The latter built in 1848 the family home which stands to-day substantially as it was originally constructed. In a room of this house his son, James Hamilton, was born in 1859; and in the same room he died seventy-nine years later.

Smith and Hamilton's store carried a full line of staple and fancy groceries, cakes, candies, tobacco and hardware, and had also an up-to-date refrigerator from which refrigerated meats were furnished. Miss Annie Smith, sister of Mr. Smith of the partnership, presided over the Woman's Department, where cotton goods, ribbons and spools of silk and cotton were displayed. Miss Annie was a favorite with all customers, but especially with the children. In an adjacent warehouse hay, feed and farm implements were stored and there was also a coal and wood yard. From his farm and conservatory Mr. Hamilton supplied an abundance of vegetables, potted plants, and fruit in season.

Mr. Hamilton was appointed Squire or Justice of the Peace in 1886, and held the first session of court in the court room provided in the engine house. He continued to be Squire until 1897. He was also Postmaster from 1893 to 1896. In those days there was

no need for delivery of the mail, since the villagers found it agreeable to visit the Hamilton store, chat with incomers and receive letters in person.

Mr. Hamilton made a trip to the Klondike in 1897, at the time of the Gold Rush, and came back with a wealth of information and experience. He was an excellent raconteur, and, when invited to address the men of St. John's Church, at one of their meetings, told his story so effectively that it was voted by all present a highly entertaining narrative.

It was back in 1867, after the Union Chapel on Smith Avenue had been acquired by the Sisters of Mercy, that Miss Sallie Van Patten, who had conducted a private school in the chapel, appealed to Mr. William Saffell to construct a building suitable for a school, as no such building existed west of the railroad. Mr. Saffell evidently took the suggestion seriously since, in the summer of 1867, he built a combination store and hall on Sulgrave Avenue, not far from the present intersection of Sulgrave Avenue and Kelly Avenue. Here Miss Van Patten held her school for a time. Saffell Hall, however, immediately became available for public meetings of any sort—community meetings, lectures, dances, dramatic or musical entertainments—and was so used until the opening of the Casino in 1884. In Saffell Hall was also organized the first public school in Mt. Washington.

Perley Ray Lovejoy was a veteran of the Civil War and had suffered a wound in the shoulder which partially disabled his left arm. After the war he taught in the Baltimore City College, but came to live in Mt. Washington in 1873, and managed to obtain the attendance of a small number of girls in classes held at his home. He was persuaded of the need of a public school in the village and, after conference with the County School Board, secured an agreement that, if he could assemble a sufficient number of scholars, the Board would appoint him principal. With this understanding the school was successfully opened in 1877.

Mr. Lovejoy was principal for the six years ending in 1883, and witnessed the transfer of the school to the new stone building prepared for it on Sulgrave Avenue in 1882.

Mr. and Mrs. Lovejoy came to Mt. Washington to occupy the property on South Road, now the home of Mr. Harry O. Norris, and named by him "Wimbledon." Mr. Isaac Albertson, Mrs. Lovejoy's brother, purchased the property in 1873, desiring to

live in it during the summer only. Under Mrs. Lovejoy's management it was conducted as a boarding house for a period of about twenty-five years, and was widely known for its home-like atmosphere and the excellence of its table. Mr. Lovejoy died here in 1889, six years after the ending of his term as school principal.

If we walk up Sulgrave Avenue hill we shall see on the right hand side, a little beyond the public school, a building finished in brown shingles and having the somewhat unusual octagonal shape. There seems reliable evidence that it was built as a home for himself by Mr. Charles Yardley; but the tradition persists that a certain architect living in the city had three daughters, who quarreled continually as to which should have the front room in his house. When in the early eighteen-sixties he built in Mt. Washington, he chose the octagonal shape with a purpose, expressing it in the brief but emphatic sentence: "Damn if they were'nt all going to have front rooms!"

We have no disposition to discredit the tradition; traditions are always more colorful than prosaic facts.

A little further up the hill, facing Helendale Street, we come upon the Roxabelle Apartments, three stories in height including the mansard, and conspicuous from its size. It was built by Mr. and Mrs. William Canby in 1866.

The corner stone of St. John's Episcopal Church was laid April 29, 1869, and the church was completed and opened for divine service October 3, 1869. The Church may properly be called an offshoot from the Church of the Redeemer on Charles St. Avenue, since it was through the persistent effort of the Rev. George C. Stokes, Rector of that Church that the church at Mt. Washington was organized and established. Dr. Stokes believed that there should be an Episcopal church in the new and growing community and in 1864 he began to hold afternoon services, first in Union Chapel on Smith Avenue and afterwards in Saffell Hall. When the church was incorporated in June, 1867, a call was extended by the Vestry to Dr. Stokes to become Rector; and this call he accepted as a temporary expedient, serving as Rector until July, 1870, while still continuing as Rector of the Church of the Redeemer. Shortly thereafter he was succeeded by Rev. Charles H. Shield. The old church building remained until 1928, when the present brick church replaced it.

The Mt. Washington Presbyterian Church owed its beginning,

strange to say, to a certain development in the affairs of St. John's Episcopal Church. In the early eighteen-seventies it came to the knowledge of the Bishop of the Diocese that the canon law of the Diocese, requiring that vestrymen be Episcopalians, had not been observed in Mt. Washington; and he forthwith directed that this condition must not continue. It therefore became the painful duty of the Episcopal rector to ask for the resignation of several vestrymen, among whom was Mr. J. Harmanus Fisher. Mr. Fisher readily comprehended the situation, and relieved the rector's embarassment by an immediate withdrawal.

Mr. and Mrs. Fisher together with several others of the Presbyterian faith began to consider the possibility of forming a congregation of their own, and in March, 1877, nine ladies met with Mrs. Fisher at her home and organized a sewing society for the purpose of establishing a Presbyterian Church. The women converted their husbands and other men to the proposal and, receiving the support of Dr. Murkland of Franklin Street Church, petition was made by the group in September, 1877, to the Presbytery. The Presbytery responded by appointing a committee to organize a church in Mt. Washington. On Sept. 27, 1877, at a meeting held in Saffell's Hall, organization was perfected, J. Harmanus Fisher and Thomas Dixon being installed as Elders. Rev. R. L. McMurran became first Pastor.

Elder Thomas Dixon, who was at that time developing his property on Dixon Hill, gave a building lot and by July, 1878, the congregation was worshiping in the completed church.

It was during the pastorate of Dr. Wilfred Shaw that on Sunday morning Jan. 29, 1922, Mt. Washington awoke to find itself buried under a two-foot fall of snow. At that time Mrs. Charles Lord was living in one of the two houses built by her father, Peter Sauerwein, at Smith Avenue and Thornbury Road. Being a very determined elderly lady she managed, despite the encumbering medium, to struggle up the hill to the church door at the time of morning service, where she met Dr. Shaw who, with somewhat less difficulty had come down the hill from the manse. No other worshiper appeared. Now it is recorded of Dean Swift that in his parish in Ireland his congregation consisted frequently of but two persons, himself and the sexton; and that nevertheless he went faithfully through the service beginning: " Dearly beloved brother Thomas, the Scripture moveth you and me in sundry

places and in divers manners to acknowledge and confess our sins," and so following. Dr. Shaw did not emulate the Dean's example and, after a short interval of waiting, the twain parted with a handclasp and a " God be with you," and returned on their separate paths as they had come.

Elderslie Methodist Church, on Old Pimlico Road near Kenoak, now counted a fourth among the Protestant churches of Mt. Washington, is not included within the limits of Mt. Washington proper, and was not built until 1916. It serves a large and expanding territory.

Let us now betake us to Rogers Avenue just at the turn of the roadway to the Belvedere Avenue bridge. It was here that William Whitelock, who owned an extensive tract of land fronting on the north side of Rogers Avenue, built in 1866 a large frame house of three stories including the mansard. He called his estate " Wildwood," and constructed a driveway down the east side of the property to South Road; whence by Newbury Street he had access to the railroad station. His son, George Whitelock, married Louisa, the daughter of Peter Sauerwein, and a daughter, Elizabeth, married Daniel B. Dorsey. For his daughter and her husband, Mr. Whitelock built the red-roofed cottage which stands to-day just off Rogers Avenue, overlooked by the original mansion. The latter has been much altered and extended since in 1930 " Happy Hills," a convalescing home for children, acquired the property and has made extensive improvements. The cottage is now the Nurses Home. William Whitelock died in 1893.

From " Wildwood " we pass to " Wayside," between South Road and Rogers Avenue and west of Roxbury Place. " Wayside " was originally part of the Wildwood estate and was in 1868 conveyed by William Whitelock to Emily Leary, wife of Thomas H. H. Leary. The Learys built the three-story frame house with mansard roof. In 1882 the property passed to John M. Carter and Florence S. Carter. Mr. and Mrs. Carter made the house their home for the rest of their lives, Mr. Carter dying in 1915 and Mrs. Carter in 1919.

Mr. Carter was a distinguished member of the Baltimore Bar and Past Grand Master of Masons in Maryland. For more than thirty years he was a vestryman of St. John's Episcopal Church and was president of the Mt. Washington Improvement Association. He was for many years a member of the Board of Directors of

the Maryland Institute and, when the building on Marsh Market Space was destroyed by the Great Fire of 1904, he visited Andrew Carnegie in New York City, and was successful in securing from him a liberal donation toward the new building on Mt. Royal Avenue.

Mr. Carter adopted at times in his home a somewhat unusual regimen for the evening and following night. Retiring about nine o'clock he would sleep until between two and three in the morning, and would then rise and devote two or three hours to his legal work. Thereafter he would go to rest again, rising to a late breakfast. Being so employed one night, he heard someone outside on the porch and, walking in some concern to the front door, he admitted, to his great surprise, an acquaintance and fellow townsman. The latter was evidently under the pressure of some strong emotion, for he was trembling violently; and Mr. Carter promptly administered a drink to settle his nerves. He presently apologized for his visit at so untimely an hour, but said that he was aware of Mr. Carter's habit of working at night, and that he had something of great importance to discuss with him. He then related that his son sometime previously had run over and killed a man on Park Heights Avenue. The boy, terror-stricken, had acted the part of a hit-and-run driver, and no one knew that he was a principal in the tragedy; but the burden had lain so heavily on his conscience that only that evening he had told his father the whole story. "And now, Mr. Carter," said his visitor, "I want you to take the case and do the best you can for my poor boy." Mr. Carter objected that, as the applicant should know, he was not a criminal lawyer; but after some discussion it was finally agreed that Mr. Carter should associate with himself some lawyer to appear in court, and that together they would conduct the defense. Mr. Carter engaged John S. Ensor and they were successful in securing a verdict imposing only a fine of a hundred dollars.

Mr. and Mrs. John T. Graham came to Mt. Washington in 1866. Mr. Graham was a real estate operator and engaged forthwith in the purchase and development of real estate. He built and sold a number of houses on Sulgrave Avenue and also extended Walcott Avenue and named it Roxbury Place. Here, in the later eighteen-seventies, he built five of the six houses that now constitute the group. These were promptly sold and occupied. The

sixth and much larger residence, that faces Mr. Graham's houses across a broad lawn, was built at a later date.

Shortly after his arrival in Mt. Washington Mr. Graham erected the three-story building on South Road, now known as "The Oaks" apartment house, but which Mr. Graham called "Hillside." In this commodious mansion Mrs. Graham accommodated boarders, and the Grahams made it their home for many years. Mrs. Graham was before her marriage Elizabeth Turner, of the large Turner family of Quaker origin, and a sister of Charles Yardley Turner, whose mural paintings adorn the Baltimore Court House. To the home of his sister Mr. Turner was a frequent visitor. In company with artists of the Baltimore group, he participated in sketching parties in the picturesque neighborhood of Mt. Washington, and all gathered for a social lunch served by Mrs. Graham at "Hillside."

Two doctors are inseparably connected with the earlier and later history of Mt. Washington. These were Dr. Josiah S. Bowen, Sr. and Dr. William J. Todd.

Dr. Bowen was born in Baltimore county in 1832 and established himself in Mt. Washington in 1865. He lived at 1710 South Road. Thereafter he served the community as a general practitioner for thirty-five years. His territory was a large one, extending from Baltimore to Brooklandville and Lutherville, and from Govanstown to Arlington. He is said to have officiated at the birth of about thirteen hundred babies. He was visiting physician to Mt. St. Agnes and surgeon to the Northern Central Railroad. He was a member of the Methodist Church and of several fraternal organizations, notably the Masons and the Knights of Pythias.

Dr. Bowen died in harness, sitting in his office chair in August, 1900.

Dr. William James Todd was born in Pittsburgh in 1857 and spent the first thirty years of his life in that city. In 1890 he came to Mt. Washington and a year afterward built his home on South Road adjoining St. John's Episcopal Church on the east side. In 1927 he built a new home at 2217 South Road which he occupied until his retirement in 1940. He died in Washington D. C. in 1942.

During the fifty years of his sojourn in Mt. Washington Dr. Todd built up a large practice as a general practitioner. He was a member of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland and the American Medical Association, and was a deep student of all

things pertaining to his profession. He was interested in the history of Mt. Washington, and prepared and read before the Baltimore Medical Society sketches of the lives of a number of the physicians who had been active in Baltimore county. He was an Episcopalian and for some years was a vestryman of St. John's Episcopal Church.

During the forty years following the death of Dr. Bowen, Dr. Todd was recognized as the leading physician of Mt. Washington.

When George Gelbach in 1854 began the development of the Mt. Washington property, he reserved for himself thirteen acres on the south side of South Road toward the bottom of the hill, with a frontage of a thousand feet. Here he built for himself a home that, for the time, was extraordinarily well equipped for convenience of living. The house was three stories in height with a four-story tower in front, in which was a water tank supplied with water by a ram from a neighboring stream. The driveway wound through grounds shaded by oak and pine trees, and there were gravel walks bordered by shrubbery. Mr. Gelbach occupied the property for about nine years and then rented it to William S. Rayner, father of United States Senator Isador Rayner. The Rayners lived there for a few years following the year 1865.

Young Rayner was at that time a lad of fifteen years. He had already determined to adopt the law as his profession and sought to develop his voice by declaiming among the trees. On one occasion certain visitors, as they approached the house, heard him vociferating in a terrifying manner and, after first greetings had been exchanged with his father, made haste to say that there was certainly an insane man raving outside, and that it would be well to inform the authorities. It was necessary for Mr. Rayner to explain the situation, at the same time indulging in a laugh in which the visitors joined heartily.

In 1869 the property was acquired by J. Harmanus Fisher, who occupied it for fifteen years. Mr. Fisher gave it the name of "Labordière" after a French family with which his wife was distantly connected. He added to the residence a billiard room, and in this room were held several services of the newly organized Presbyterian congregation, while the building of a church was awaited. Meetings of various other organizations were held in this room, which came to be known as "Labordière Hall."

In his later years Mr. Fisher devoted his leisure to the making of wren-houses, for which he devised elaborate machinery.

Mr. Fisher sold the property in 1884 to Henry McShane, owner of the McShane Bell Foundry. Ownership remained in the McShane family until 1900, and for some years in the nineties the place was rented to the Robinson family, of social prominence in Baltimore.

Lawrence B. Kemp was the next owner and, while President of the Commercial and Farmers National Bank, Mr. Kemp occupied the property from 1900 to 1904. He came to Mt. Washington in 1891 and lived first on Maywood Avenue. He became a vestryman of St. John's Church and was for a time superintendent of the sunday-school. He took an active interest in public affairs, and organized the " Bread Winners Club " among those in the community whose earnings availed for practically nothing beyond daily needs. For three winters he gave entertainments on Friday evenings for six weeks for an admission fee of ten cents, engaging for entertainers, singers, musicians, ventriloquists and magicians. Needless to say the hall was crowded to full capacity.

In his home at " Labordière " Mr. Kemp entertained successively Lyman T. Gage and Leslie M. Shaw, Secretaries of the Treasury, and William Barrett Ridgely, Comptroller of the Currency.

The property was purchased in 1905 by J. Edwin Griffith, and Mr. and Mrs. Griffith made it their home until Mr. Griffith's death in 1934. Since then it has been unoccupied and, sad to say, has fallen into ruin and decay.

Some distance westward from " Labordière " along South Road is the residence designated 1805, since 1925 the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Murphy. In 1866 the house and grounds were conveyed to Ellen E. Scott, wife of Rossiter Scott. Mr. Scott died in the early nineties, and shortly after the family rented the property and did not occupy it again. However, Townsend Scott, Rossiter Scott's son, lived in Mt. Washington during his boyhood and early manhood, and knew practically everybody in the community. On one occasion I spent an evening with Mr. Scott and was greatly entertained by his reminiscences of the companions and associates of his younger days in the village. No man was ever more affable and agreeable than Townsend Scott; he liked everybody and everybody liked him. Fortunately for him he died before the

failure in the depression of the thirties of his firm, Townsend Scott and Son, founded by his grandfather in 1832, one hundred years before.

Miss Ella Culbreth was a relative of the Scott family and for a time made her home in their house, where she conducted a small school. Later she purchased 1806 South Road across the way; and here, with improved facilities she enlarged her school and taught many of the girls and boys of Mt. Washington. She subsequently moved to Baltimore and took over the management of the Albion Hotel, which she conducted successfully for many years.

Continuing out South Road and passing South Bend we come upon a development in Mt. Washington taking place in the years immediately following the first World War. At that time the Skinner property, known as "Rose Hill," included between South Road, South Bend, Rogers Avenue and Wexford Road, was subdivided and sold by a real estate company. The original mansion with sufficient ground around it was purchased intact by Mr. and Mrs. Bradley Hays, who have since then made it their home. Immediately opposite the Rose Hill tract, on the south side of Rogers Avenue, St. Paul's School for Boys was established in 1923, and has grown into a flourishing institution. And just west of St. Paul's School was erected on the Bruce estate in 1931 the Methodist Home for the Aged.

It was in the year 1884 that Mr. Edward L. Gernand came to live on Maynard Avenue, Dixon Hill. In the following years he showed himself a practical man and a public spirited citizen. He was a vestryman of St. John's Episcopal Church.

Not long after he became a resident he began to agitate the need of a public water supply. Some years later he built for sale two houses and to furnish adequately these and his own residence with water, he bored a very deep well. Certain of his neighbors, realizing the opportunity that was presented, asked him to extend his mains to their houses. Others followed with like request, and it so came about that in time Mr. Gernand was the owner of a local distribution system, and supplied water to households at a charge of forty dollars per annum. The rate was high, but residents were glad to pay for the convenience.

In November, 1885, Mr. Gernand began the publication of a monthly periodical entitled *The Advocate.* It soon grew from four pages to twelve pages and was continued until November, 1894,

except for a suspension of three years from 1890 to 1893, when Mr. Gernand was absent from Mt. Washington. During the final year of publication the editorship, at Mr. Gernand's request, was assumed by the Lend-a-Hand Club, a woman's organization. The editors, who contributed to filling up the text of the monthly numbers, were Mrs. John T. Graham, Mrs. Charles W. Lord, Mrs. John D. Early, Miss M. M. Piggott and Miss M. A. Klein.

The *Advocate* soon made a place for itself, and its issues were awaited with expectation in the community. Local news was given in detail, there was comment on the affairs of the nation, and there were articles on art, poetry and general literature.

It was in the year 1883 that certain public-spirited gentlemen, believing that the community should possess a social center more adequate to its needs than Saffell Hall, organized the Mt. Washington Hall Association and called for subscriptions of stock at $50 per share for the erection of a building. The list of organizers and subscribers included the names of such representative citizens as J. Harmanus Fisher, John M. Carter, E. J. Penniman, Rossiter S. Scott, William T. Thelin, Dr. J. S. Bowen, William Whitelock, H. W. Huntemiller, and Perley R. Lovejoy. The cornerstone of the proposed building, the present Casino, was laid in 1883, and a year later the edifice was completed and formally opened.

Mt. Washington now entered upon a period of increased social activity. Like Saffell Hall that preceded it, the Casino was available for meetings of every sort; there was a Fourth of July celebration long to be remembered in July of 1894, when the "Breadwinners" were in evidence and Lawrence B. Kemp was Master of Ceremonies. The dances were noteworthy since they attracted residents from outlying neighborhoods. From Pikesville came the Cooks and the Harrisons, the latter a numerous family dwelling on their estate of "Annandale," now Druid Ridge Cemetery. From Green Spring Valley came the Cradocks, the Stumps, the Rogers and the Cockeys. "When I danced with Will Cockey," said to the writer a lady who remembered vividly these earlier days, "I never saw higher than the second button of his shirt front, he being six feet four and I five feet, three."

Later on a contingent from the city was attracted to the Mt. Washington dances and began to attend. Formal and stately affairs were these dances—not at all conceived after the hurly-burly manner of to-day. The women were habited in evening gowns, and dress suits and white gloves were required on the part of the

men. The dancers glided over the floor, not to the discord of an orchestra of loud bassoons and shrieking horns, but to the harmony of waltzes played by the incomparable pianist, John Blank; who was in constant demand for such events, and whose accentuation of time was perfect. The strains of "Home Sweet Home" sounded shortly after twelve o'clock, since the last train for Baltimore left the station at twelve-thirty; and Blank usually caught it at the end of a mad rush, and by the skin of his teeth.

The dramatic art was also in favor and, in addition to the dances, two theatrical performances were usually scheduled for each winter season. Messrs. Jack Carter, John Cummings of Melvale, Eustace Shaw, John Gibbs, E. J. Penniman and his son, Arthur Penniman, were prominent as actors; as were also as actresses the Misses Reba and Marie Thelin, Florence Ensor, and Daisy Dunn, the last of whom took part afterwards among the Vagabond Players.

Notwithstanding its many social successes, the Mt. Washington Hall Association found it difficult in the end to meet expenses of maintaining the Casino; and, about 1896, gave place to the Lend-a-Hand Club, which assumed responsibility.

The Lend-a-Hand Club was a national woman's organization that owed its inception in 1872 to Edward Everett Hale, and had for its object the extending of assistance in many needed directions; but especially was it interested in supplying inspiration and opportunity to the votaries of art, music and literature. The first president of its Mt. Washington Chapter, organized in 1888, was Mrs. John T. Graham, who was actively supported by Mrs. John M. Carter and Mrs. William Matthai. For the encouragement of the artists of Baltimore, the Artists' Fete, on the first Saturday in May, was established as an annual function. Young artists especially from the Charcoal Club and the Maryland Institute, were invited to submit sketches and compete for prizes. The aspirants reported at the Casino at nine o'clock in the morning of the appointed day, and immediately scattered among the picturesque hills of the neighborhood to select their subjects and complete their sketches. These must be presented at the Casino at 12 o'clock; and, after another hour, giving opportunity for preparation, luncheon was served. In anticipation of the event the Casino had been transformed within into a bower of loveliness; and, including the artists and their friends, as many as 150 persons were sometimes present. In the meantime the sketches had been examined by the appointed

judges; and, after luncheon, the prizes were awarded. Prof. Edward Whiteman of the Terraces officiated as one of the judges, assisted by Thomas Corner, the portrait-painter, and Carrell Lucas of the Charcoal Club.

A month after the Artists' Fete, on the first Saturday in June, came the Rose Fete, when the Casino again blossomed into a floral paradise. At the Rose Fete of 1898, the 26th anniversary of the National Lend-a-Hand Club, Edward Everett Hale was the guest of honor and made the address, and Cardinal Gibbons sat on the stage. On another occasion the two distinguished women, Clara Barton and Julia Ward Howe, were guests and the latter read selections from her poems.

In the autumn came the Feast of Harvest Home and, in the winter, Yuletide and Twelfth Night were observed with appropriate ceremonies.

The Lend-a-Hand Club was in active control of the Casino for the twelve years from 1896 to 1908 and, during part of this period, was assisted in its activities by a men's organization bearing the enigmatical title " F. F. F." Dances and evening entertainments were arranged by the men, as an adjunct to the seasonal celebrations conducted by the women. No satisfying explanation has ever been given of the meaning of the challenging letters; " Forty First Families " is recognized as only a guess, and the title was intended to be mystifying. It denoted a secret society and the initiation ceremonies were correspondingly terrible. They were held principally in the barn of Omar F. Hershey, the first president. In the roof was a hay-loft which communicated by a vertical drop with the basement, underneath the carriage house on the first floor. Applicants, blindfolded, were confined in the stalls of the basement in charge of an examining committee, while in an adjoining stall, a large St. Bernard dog bayed continuously. Upon signifying his consent to be bound by the rules of the organization, each neophyte was girded under the arms with a stout strap attached to a rope, and by means of a pulley in the roof, was drawn up into the hay-loft and was lowered thence to the floor of the carriage rouse. Here the bandage was finally removed from his eyes and, if he had survived the shock of the ordeal, he was welcomed with acclamation as a brother by the assembled members.

The organization of the F. F. F. was simple and frankly autocratic. At a certain meeting of the directors the president, Mr. Hershey, announced certain radical administrative measures. " By

what authority have you acted?" inquired a director. "My own; the boss says so," responded the president; and was not further questioned.

The Lend-a-Hand Club and the F. F. F. were merged in 1908 into the Little F. F. F. in which the women furnished the leadership and were in control of the Casino until 1916.

The Woman's Club of Mt. Washington was organized in 1914 and, although it holds its meetings in the parish hall of St. John's Church and is not concerned with the maintenance of the Casino, yet, since its aim is to promote the cultural interests of Mt. Washington, it is the legitimate successor of the former Lend-a-Hand Club.

The Baltimore Cricket Club was organized as far back as 1874 and secured as its playing field the land south of the present viaduct into Mt. Washington, and included between Jones Falls and the railroad. The prime movers in the enterprise were Tunstall Smith and John E. Carey; and associated with them were J. Harry Lee, first president of the Club, Dr. James Howard, Innes Randolph, Howard and Otho Ridgely, Dr. Randolph Winslow, Dr. Louis McLean Tiffany, William Marston, head of Marston's School, Jesse Tyson and others. Among the large number of players who came later may be named as representative, Jack Glenn, Herbert Brune, Allan and Robert McLane, Tagart Steele, Sam Lippincott, Brooke Hopkins and Mt. Washington's three players, Wallace Whitelock, Howard Cole and George Chipman.

Accommodation for the players was at first afforded by what was scarcely more than an enclosed shed, but in 1887 a clubhouse was completed providing ample facilities. In the eighties and nineties the Club grew and prospered and the game was in full swing. Cricket flourished in Philadelphia, the inhabitants having learned it during the Revolution from the English army of occupation; and matches were arranged with the numerous Philadelphia Clubs—Germantown, Merion, Belmont and Haverford. Preponderance of skill was naturally with Philadelphia, but nevertheless an occasional victory was scored by the Mt. Washington players.

In the middle eighties tennis was introduced into the Club and the ten or more courts marked out were soon alive with players. This was a game in which the women could take part and they responded in increasing numbers. Prominent players were Omar F. Hershey, John S. Ensor, Yates Pennington, Hamilton Browne,

Leigh Bonsal, Charles Morris Howard, Norman James, Hanson Thomas, Bob Chamberlaine and A. H. S. Post, better known as "Hampy" Post. "Hampy" not only defeated all competitors at the Club, but won the state championship. He held this for a number of years and retired undefeated. The Rev. Maltbie Babcock was frequently to be seen on the courts with Harry Smith, a member of his church. Champions among the women were Eleanor Latrobe and Jeannie Bonsal, who afterwards married Miles White.

In later years lacrosse became a leading feature in the Club, and the Mt. Washington Lacrosse Team has become famous by its victories over the teams of the Colleges.

For a number of years preceding the year 1916 a civic organization known as the Mt. Washington Neighborhood Association, had functioned through an administrative triumvirate of which the principals were the leading citizens John M. Carter, Thomas J. Shryock and Samuel B. Sexton. A voluntary payment of eighteen cents per $100 of assessed real estate values was contributed by each property owner, and the fund thus provided was expended in paving gutters, surfacing roads and removal of snow in the winter months. The Mt. Washington Community Association was organized in 1916 and absorbed this Neighborhood Association, and also took over the Casino and the club-house and grounds of the former Baltimore Cricket Club.

Notwithstanding its wide extension and development, Mt. Washington preserves essentially the character of a big village. The churches are friendly in their attitude one toward another, and on Thanksgiving Day of each year the four Protestant churches join in a union service. Within the lines of the original Mt. Washington, as defined in these pages, it may almost be said that everybody knows everybody else. But it is the Casino that, under successive management by the Mt. Washington Hall Association, the Lend-a-Hand Club, the F. F. F., the Little F. F. F. and, finally, by the Mt. Washington Community Association, has supplied a center for all social and civic activities and, aided by the athletic activities of the Club, has been the dominant factor in drawing the community together. Under capable and interested leaders the Community Association continues to-day. May it long so continue!

A LIST OF CONVICTS TRANSPORTED TO MARYLAND

By Frank F. White, Jr.

A list of one hundred fifteen convicts and felons transported by Andrew Reid [1] in 1740, a recent anonymous gift to the library of the Maryland Historical Society, is a document exceedingly rich in social and economic history. It sheds much light on the labor conditions of the eighteenth century when land, on the one hand, was plentiful, while labor, on the other, was notoriously scarce. One of the cheapest and most profitable methods to build up great estates and tremendous fortunes, therefore, was to import labor, white indentured servants in particular.[2]

Maryland received more convicts and felons than any other province in the eighteenth century.[3] Lodge and other writers maintain that Maryland received a greater proportion of convicts than any other province.[4] Scharf estimates that the total number of criminals sent to Maryland was about 20,000, with over six hundred a year coming in between the years 1737 and 1767.[5] In all probability, the majority of those so transported were not political offenders.[6] Clearly, then, Maryland became a dumping ground for the objectionable subjects of the realm.

Most of these " seven-year " criminals were the ordinary criminals of the British Isles. Those transported included both men and women of all ages and descriptions. Their crimes ranged from merely stealing a loaf of bread to armed robbery. The more serious offenders were not transported but were executed

[1] The contractor for the transportation of Newgate felons from April, 1739, to March, 1757. Abbot Smith, *Colonists in Bondage* (Chapel Hill, 1947), p. 114.

[2] See Basil Sollers, " Transported Convict Laborers in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II (1907), 17-47.

[3] Eugene I. McCormac, " White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, XXII, Nos. 3-4 (1904), 98.

[4] James Butler, " British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, II (October, 1896), 19; Henry Cabot Lodge, *A Short History of the English Colonies in America.* (Boston, 1882), pp. 124-125.

[5] John Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland*, I (Baltimore, 1879), 371-372.

[6] Butler, *op. cit.*, 16.

shortly after their sentences were imposed. The Act of 1718 provided that persons who had been convicted of clergyable offenses such as burglary, robbery, perjury, or theft, be sent to America for seven years. James Went, for instance, one of those on the list, was guilty of robbing a house,[7] while John Wells,[8] William Snowd, and William Cardell, were charged with highway robbery.[9] Jarvis Hare, a mere lad of fourteen years, was sentenced for stealing a horse,[10] while Thomas Henning enlisted a man for the King of Prussia.[11] Sarah Kingman picked a pocket.[12] Thus, the British Government perceived the great need for " servants " who might improve the colonial plantations and at the same time make themselves more useful to His Majesty.

These felons and convicts frequently had to undergo great hardships before departing from England. Often they languished in the jails of the British Isles for long periods. Some of those on the following list had been confined in Newgate Prison for as much as nine months. James Went's sentence had been passed, for instance, in June, 1739, while Snowd and Wells were condemned in January, 1740.

Sheriffs were not allowed to deliver criminals to the transporters without license. The transporters themselves in turn had to give security that the felons would not return to England until their terms of banishment had expired. The captain of the ship had to swear that the people to be transported were received on board and would be effectually and immediately transported to America. This security had to be certified by a public official. Hence, Andrew Reid received a certificate of receipt from Anthony Bacon and Reid's oath in turn had to be certified by the Clerk of the Gaol Delivery for Middlesex County.

Because of the great demand for indentured servants, many of the transporters made tremendous wealth. Captain Anthony Bacon was but one of those who chose to earn his living in this manner. He appears to have been well-known to Marylanders, especially in the latter half of the eighteenth century as the owner of a prominent firm. Charles Carroll, Barrister, makes frequent

[7] *Gentleman's Magazine*, IX (June, 1739), 325.
[8] *Ibid.*, X (January, 1740), 34.
[9] *Ibid.*, IX (September, 1739), 404.
[10] *Ibid.*, IX (June, 1739), 325.
[11] *Ibid.*, IX (October, 1739), 551.
[12] *Ibid.*, IX (July, 1739), 383.

references to conducting business with the house of Bacon.[13] The Bordley Papers in the Society's library contain many records of Bacon's business transactions.

Marylanders tolerated the shipment of convicts simply because they had to. They protested the intrusion of convicts, but were unable to do much about it.[14] They imposed a duty on the numbers of convicts brought in and not infrequently kidnapped them and spirited them away. The planter class appears to have been the only group which from the first favored the importation of convict labor. This group did, however, resent the King's making Maryland the dumping ground for his objectionable subjects, but were influential in forcing the passage of the 1728 Maryland law which, among other things, made compulsory written testimonials from each shipmaster as to the offense, the sentence, and the time each convict had to serve.[15] Eventually, the agitation against convict labor became so great that the British Government were forced to look elsewhere for the site of a penal colony. This eventually became Botany Bay, Australia.

As previously suggested, the names of those to be transported were chronicled in the British journals. *The Historical Register* faithfully listed for many years the numbers of those to be transported, but none of those on the ship *York* could be traced through this journal. *The Gentleman's Magazine* also chronicled the names of those condemned, but usually these entries were in the briefest possible form. Those to be transported seldom appeared in the latter journal, but their offenses were usually listed with a remark such as " condemned and ordered to be transported four men and three women."

The list follows.

Blackwall March 22nd 1739/40.

A List of One Hundred and Fifteen Felons & Convicts Shipped from Newgate by Andrew Reid Esqr on board the York Capt Anthony Bacon Commander, bound for Maryland, vizt:

1 James Wood
2 Richard Merring
3 Myers Samuel
4 Elizabeth Ward
5 Mary Wood
6 Daniel Sullivan
7 James Evans
8 Ann (Johanna) Price

[13] See particularly articles which appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (1938), " Letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister."
[14] *Archives of Maryland*, II, 540-541.
[15] *Laws of Maryland*, 1728 Session, Chapter XXIII.

9 Thomas Watson
10 Richard Land
11 James Meredith
12 James Stuart
13 Elizabeth Jackson
14 Richard Mackloud
15 Benjamin Dunkersly
16 John Plummer
17 Thomas Ward
18 Thomas Deane
19 Ephraim Hubbard
20 John Cooke
21 Sarah Stanley
22 William Turner
23 Richard Underwood
24 William Maxwell
25 John Anderson
26 Cesar Franklin
27 John Brown
28 James Eakins
29 John Warren
30 John Myers
31 Mary Johnson
32 Samuel Peartree
33 Lucy Hughes
34 John Irving
35 Jacob Edmunds
36 James Bartley
37 Michael Smith
38 William Jones
39 Thomas Henning
40 William Cardell
41 Jarvis Hare
42 James Went
43 Sarah Kingman
44 Sarah Sumners
45 Margaret Betts
46 William Burchmore
47 John Hastings
48 William Green
49 John Matthews
50 Sarah Withers
51 John Morgan
52 Mary Hardcastle
53 Francis Smith
54 John Deacon
55 Sarah Jones
56 Samuel Powell
57 William Stewa
58 Mary Castle
59 John Delane
60 John Duggen
61 Ann Groom
62 Elizabeth Price
63 Diana Cole
64 Elizabeth Fowles
65 James Brockwell
66 John Tizzard
67 Elizabeth Green
68 Alice Faulkner
69 John Patterson
70 Moses Beesely
71 Ann Stringer
72 William Shaw
73 Sarah Liddiard
74 Joshua Blackett
75 Henry Chapman
76 James Downes
77 Isaac Gaytes
78 Arnold Reynolds
79 Rebecca Peake
80 John Smith
81 John Mitchell
82 James Anderson
83 Hannah Thompson
84 William Graves
85 William Brown
86 Ann Wilson
87 Thomas Davis
88 James Stiles
89 John Patterson
90 William Berry
91 John Claxton
92 Charles Groom
93 Elianor Bolton
94 Elizabeth Smith
95 Martha Abbott
96 Margaret Ellis
97 Thomas Winter
98 John Wicks
99 Edward Groves
100 William Peake
101 John Blake
102 Marmaduke Bignoll
103 Richard Ford
104 Ann Williams

105 William Seale
106 Thomas Street
107 Francis Flack
108 Mary Heckman
109 Benjamin Bellgrove (Dead)
110 John Potter
111 William Kipps
112 Mary Elliott
113 George Vaughan
114 William Snowd
115 Joseph Wells

Blackwall March 22d 1739/40.

I Anthony Bacon Master of the Ship York, now lying in the River of Thames & bound for Maryland in America do hereby humbly certify that the above named Persons being in Number One Hundred & Fifteen were this day all received on board my said Ship (except Benjamin Bellgrove who died in Newgate) by the Order of Andrew Reid Esqr. to be immediately & effectually transported to Maryland, one of His Majesty's Plantations in America, pursuant to the Acts of Parliament for that purpose made & provided.

Antho: Bacon

Witness
Jno Nicholls
John Davis

London I do hereby humbly certify that Andrew Reid of London Merchant hath given Security for the effectual Transportation of the Forty Three Felons first above named pursuant to the Orders of the Court of Goal Delivery of Newgate holden for the City of London at Justice Hall in the Old Bailey in the Suburbs of the same City on Wednesday the 16th day of January and Wednesday the Twenty Seventh day of February last past, which Security remains now in my hands. Dated the Third Day of April 1740.

Man [16]

(Reverse)

Middx I do hereby humbly Certify that Andrew Reid of London Merchant hath given Security for the Effectual Transportation of the within last named Seventy two Felons pursuant to the orders of the Court of Gaole Delivery of Newgate holden for the County of Middx at Justicehall in the Old Bailey in the Suburbs of the City of London on Wednesday the 16th Day of January and Wednesday the 27th Day of February last past which Security remains now in my hands and that the within named Benjamin Bellgrove died in Newgate since the giving the said Security. Dated the 3rd Day of April 1740.

John Matthews Clerk of the Gaole Delivery
of Newgate for the County of Middx

[16] Man is unidentified, but is believed to be a minor official.

The mere presence of a name on the list does not mean that these criminals remained in Maryland. Many of them returned to England after their terms of banishment had expired. Without making extensive genealogical investigation, few traces of the one hundred fifteen could be found. In all probability, the stigma attached to the term convict caused many of them to change their names or to migrate to other provinces. At any rate, present day Marylanders need not be disturbed. If any on this list of convicts remained, they probably became, after a term of seven years with exacting masters, self-respecting, and possibly industrious and prosperous citizens.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Archives of Maryland, LXII. Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1769-1770. [Assembly series, vol. 30.]. Edited by RAPHAEL SEMMES. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1945. xliii, 502 pp. $3.00.

The text of this volume (pp. 3-453) was printed from photostats of the original manuscript records which are preserved in the Hall of Records at Annapolis. There is a scholarly introduction (pp. xv-xliii) by the Editor, an appendix, and a comprehensive index. The type is clear and readable.

The Assembly, whose proceedings are the subject of this volume of the *Archives*, had been elected in 1767 and its first session was held in May and June, 1768, during the term of Governor Horatio Sharpe. On June 6, 1769, Sir Robert Eden succeeded Governor Sharpe, and thereafter three more sessions of this Assembly were held, one in the autumn of 1769 and two in the autumn of 1770.

The introduction comprises a summary of the proceedings of the Assembly and a description of the general acts, local acts and private acts.

The appendix includes the Resolution of Non-Importation, adopted at Annapolis June 22, 1769. This resolution is an important document in Maryland history, and because it is difficult to obtain, it has been reprinted here for the convenience of historians and scholars. The appendix also contains various letters and vestry proceedings relating to the manner clergymen in colonial Maryland were transferred from one parish to another; a letter from Governor Botetourt of Virginia to Governor Eden urging Maryland to join Virginia in erecting and supporting a light house on Cape Henry because of the many vessels stranded at the capes; and other interesting documents.

While the Archives are of more particular interest to historians, this volume is full of material of general interest. At least three instances are worthy of note. (1) When the Assembly met on November 17, 1769 Governor Eden delivered the message of the Lord Proprietary, Frederick Calvert, which was addressed to both the Upper and Lower houses. In his message Lord Baltimore praised the last governor, Horatio Sharpe, for his many years of faithful service. The message then stated of the new governor: "Mr. Eden is, I acknowledge, my brother-in-law, and endeared to me by the nearest Tyes of Affinity, Friendship and Affection, but, could I distrust his Abilities or Inclinations to make you a happy People he is the last person to whom I would have Delegated my Authority." (2) The

subject of " relief " while generally regarded as a development of modern times was also a matter for legislative consideration in colonial Maryland. A private act was passed in 1769 for the financial relief of a woman for the loss of a slave who committed suicide while in jail awaiting trial on the charge of burglary and a number of acts were passed for the relief of prisoners for debt—three of whom were women. (3) The relations of Governor Eden with the Lower House of the Assembly, during the first part of his term, were friendly as is shown by an act passed at the November—December session, 1769, which authorized the payment of $800.00 to Governor Eden which his Excellency was requested, by the Assembly, to accept as " an instance of their regard and respect for him." This cordial relationship was ended however in October, 1770, when the report of the Committee on Grievances and Courts of Justice charged that William Steuart, as clerk of the Land Office had charged excessive fees. Steuart claimed that as the fees had been authorized by the judges of the Land Office their collection was not illegal. The delegates contended, on the other hand, that they had the sole right to fix taxes, or fees, with the assent of the Upper House, and accordingly, the Sergeant at Arms, by order of the Lower House, arrested Steuart and committed him to jail. On the following day, Friday, November 2, 1770, Governor Eden prorogued the Assembly to meet on Monday, November 5th, thus bringing about the release of Steuart. The delegates insisted on their right to imprison for contempt and the Governor once more prorogued the Assembly. This controversy was not resolved until the American Revolution and was merely an illustration of the struggle for power between the elected representatives of the people and the executive which was then taking place in all the colonies.

Volume LXII of the Maryland Archives, edited by Dr. Raphael Semmes, maintains the high standard of excellence established by previous editors.

ROGER B. WILLIAMS

American Painting—First Flowers of Our Wilderness. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947. 368 pp. 162 illus. $10.00.

This work is a contribution of prime value to our understanding of the first hundred years of American painting and of the unfolding Colonial culture as it is reflected in pictorial form. Previous accounts of the first seventy-five years of American painting, beginning with the earliest New England examples of the 1670's are for the most part special studies and little known except to students. Mr. Flexner has assembled the scattered data covering the period up to Copley's departure for London in 1774 and woven it into a clarifying essay which should serve as a broadly illuminating lamp for everyone interested in our cultural past. This first volume of a projected series dealing with the relationships between life

in America and the tradition of American painting augurs well for the volumes to come.

As in life, so in art: Colonial customs and outlook developed as offshoots of European traditions. The protagonists in the drama of early American painting were the realism arising from the native preoccupation with fact and the classical tradition of the Renaissance, as represented by the provincial imitations of the international court style which had been established in England by van Dyck and carried on by Sir Peter Lely and Sir Godfrey Kneller. Our early painters were artisans of the lower and middle classes belonging to a provincial society and their social and geographic isolation cut them off from contact with the creative centers of European art. The analogies of our self-taught craftmen-painters lie not with the 'name painters' but with the provincial artisans of the Old World, the mass of whose works have largely vanished, like numberless examples of our own, or remain hidden away in homes, local shops and museum storerooms.

The early Boston limners of portraits, like all beginners, depicted their subjects in flat patterns of simple outlines enclosing local colors, and Mr. Flexner rightly emphasizes the inevitability of such a first 'medieval' step, regardless of whatever may have survived in the Colonies of the late medieval forms of provincial Elizabethan portraiture. The court style appeared in Boston about 1675 side by side with the 'primitive' manner, whose increasing realism reached its climax in the portrait of hundred-year-old Ann Pollard of 1721. The many Dutch paintings which were imported to New Amsterdam apparently went unvalued, and so rather summarily disappeared, after the English took over the city and named it New York in 1664. The technical competence of these imported pictures disappeared with them, but their realism was akin to that of the local outlook. In the hands of the Patroon Painters of the Hudson River Valley a stark and abbreviated sort of realism tinged with a note of lyrical innocence combined in the 1720's with the symbols of the court style introduced by the English to effect a compromise which Mr. Flexner honors as the first authentic flowering of the American spirit in painting. This process of compromise resulting from the mixed desire of the rising American middle class to see itself portrayed with convincing reality and in the ennobled fashion of English aristocrats forms the devious road along which early American painters unconsciously struggled toward that mastery of bourgeois realism which culminated in the great achievement of John Singleton Copley. The several stages (through Smibert and Feke, and West and Charles Willson Peale before they went abroad, and many others) and the regional variations (in Virginia, Maryland and South Carolina) of this mixing of tradition and improvisation are reported with fine objectivity and evaluated with acute discrimination in *First Flowers of Our Wilderness.*

So few paintings other than portraits have survived that it has become almost a fixed idea that Colonial society took no interest in the portrayal of the life and scenes around it. The documentary evidence brought together by Mr. Flexner reveals that in the Colonies, as in Europe, painting was in fact practiced in "all its branches": cities, harbors and "all kinds

of landscape," fox hunting and stag parties, fruits, flowers and designs for coaches, signs and fire boards. Exceptions to the American repertory until after the Revolution were historical painting of contemporary events, which was considered unworthy of representation, and religious painting (save for a few instances such as Gustavus Hesselius), which was under taboo as "Popish."

By bringing into context reference to the other arts—architecture, sculpture, furniture design, home decoration (regarding which the myth of Puritan drabness is dispelled), music and literature—Mr. Flexner has given a comprehensive and evocative view of the various aspects of Colonial culture and of the character of the people who produced it. The account is made the more informative and substantial by an appendix well stocked with notes and by a full, critical bibliography. The illustrations are generous in number and those in black and white adequate in quality, but the eight plates in color are mediocre as reproductions of oil paintings. A thorough index adds much to the usefulness of the work.

EDWARD S. KING.

The Walters Art Gallery.

Calendar of Maryland State Papers: No. 2, The Bank Stock Papers. Publications of The Hall of Records Commission No. 5. Annapolis: The Commission, 1947. xlvii, 68 pp.

Students of Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary America will welcome the publication by the Maryland Hall of Records Commission of this calendar of papers which throws much additional light on a little known but highly interesting subject. Several monographs have treated cursorily of the "bank stock controversy" but until the appearance of this volume there has been available no complete, authoritative and inclusive account of this complex and intricate story. Future scholars who may wish to explore the original documents pertaining to the controversy will find this calendar indispensable. Less specialized students will discover in Dr. Radoff's introductory summary a thorough and reliable survey of all the salient facts surrounding the case.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, the Province of Maryland had title to £29,000 of stock in the Bank of England which had been purchased to provide a sinking fund for several issues of colonial paper money. Control over the stock had been vested in the hands of three English merchants, and after the termination of hostilities these trustees refused to surrender possession to the new state government. Their argument was that Maryland's claim to the funds had been forfeited because of her confiscation of British property during the Revolution. The State, of course, denied this contention and dispatched Samuel Chase to London to recover the stock. The objections of sundry adverse claimants, including Henry Harford, natural son of the last Lord Baltimore, brought the case into

Chancery where it rested until 1803 in spite of the efforts of Chase and his successor William Pinkney. The final decision of the Lord Chancellor vested title to the stock in the Crown as the lawful successor to the defunct Provincial government. His Majesty's Government then saw fit to transfer ownership to Maryland and at long last the State received the sum of about $650,000.

This story not only throws interesting light on the financial and diplomatic history of the early American Republic, but also goes a long way toward explaining Maryland's rather unique position in respect to British creditors after the Revolution. While neighboring Virginia harassed and obstructed British creditors intent on the collection of pre-war debts, Maryland's legislature explicitly ratified the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain and removed all barriers to the lawful recovery of these obligations. The reason is now clear. As the documents calendared in this publication show, this act was merely insurance to guarantee the State's collection of its bank stock. The effect of this decision was far reaching. It helps to explain, among other things, Maryland's fairly easy acceptance of the Federal Constitution which many Virginians opposed on the sensible grounds that the new Federal courts would enforce the peace-treaty stipulations regarding British debts.

Professional historians have too long overlooked the possibilities of the documentary calendar as a device for presenting unpublished materials. Traditional emphasis on the doctoral dissertation has obscured the fact that there are other ways of bringing new data to the attention of the scholarly public. Dr. Radoff's admirable job on these papers ought to convince many that for economy, brevity and clarity this type of publication is unbeatable. An excellent index, a brief biographical summary of the principals involved in the case and a cross-reference key to the original documents add considerably to its usefulness.

PHILIP A. CROWL

Princeton University.

The South Old and New, A History 1820-1947. By FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. xvi, 527, xx pp. $6.00.

Professor Simkins' book is a satisfactory general and comprehensive history of the South as a section, and as such it provides a study long desired by both teachers and students of southern history. It traces developments in the South from 1820 to 1947 in a manner that creates a clear understanding of how this section became " conscious of its identity." The work not only describes the political and economic development of the South but also its literature, education, religion, social classes, fine arts, and racial relations.

The author combines objectivity with candor, and nowhere does he

manifest these qualities more than in his treatment of Reconstruction in the South. He sets aside the prejudices and rumors of this period to show that the Negro was a "dupe rather than a scoundrel" in these years, and that it was an "era of unhealthy politics which called forth the evil in men that under happier conditions would have been suppressed." But he urges that Reconstruction be not studied as an isolated evil. If it was a period of corruption in the South, this was also true of the same period in the North.

Treating the status of the Negro since 1865, Professor Simkins shows the same frankness and impartiality. He doubts whether "Negro progress has outweighed Negro retrogression," and he believes that the colored man will have to remain "a mere beggar for favors." As for the attainment of the status of a respected American citizen, Professor Simkins maintains that the black man will have to develop more self-assertion and self-reliance.

The nonprofessional reader ought to be able to derive immense profit from the book. The illustrations are few but good, and there is an excellent bibliography which attests to the industry of the author and which will be appreciated by all serious students of the history of the South.

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS

The Johns Hopkins University.

The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark and Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1814-1877. By SISTER M. HILDEGARDE YEAGER, C. S. C. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1947. xi, 512 pp. $4.50 (paper).

This excellent dissertation is the thirty-sixth to appear in the series on American Church History sponsored by the Catholic University. Ably and scholarly directed by the late Msgr. Peter Guilday, the series is now under the competent direction of the Rev. John Ellis.

By virtue of his character and his office Archbishop Bayley occupied a prominent place in the Catholic Church of his day. He was a descendant of well known colonial families: the Roosevelts, the Barclays, and the Le Contes. He was a nephew of Mother Seton. Except for John Carroll's, there has been no more distinguished lineage in the native American hierarchy than Bayley's. Born in New York in 1814, educated at Amherst and Trinity in Hartford, young Bayley first thought of becoming a doctor. Family influence and his own bent turned him to the Episcopal ministry in which he served as zealous rector of St. Andrew's in Harlem. The Tractarian and Oxford movements, however, unsettled his convictions; and during a visit to Rome in 1842, James Bayley became a Catholic. Desiring to become a priest, he was sent to study at St. Sulpice in Paris for a year and shortly afterwards was ordained by Bishop John Hughes for

the Diocese of New York. There he served in various capacities for nine years.

Raised to the episcopate in 1853, James Bayley became the first Bishop of Newark. Overwhelming problems faced the young bishop: the new diocese had to be organized; his people were mostly poor immigrants; there was a lack of priests, schools, and churches; there was the Know-Nothing movement. All of these problems proved his mettle; and, when Archbishop Spalding died in 1872, Bishop Bayley was promoted to the see of Baltimore.

This was not a congenial change for an aging man. Although his aunt, Mary Roosevelt, wrote, "You will be placed where you will enjoy refinement and culture," Archbishop Bayley missed Newark with its old and intimate associations. Advancing age and recurring illness rendered him less and less active although amongst other accomplishments he convened the eighth synod for his clergy and consecrated the Cathedral. He died in 1877.

This volume is a dissertation and suffers from its nature, more emphasis being placed on scholarship than on literary style. Through a great part of the book the Archbishop speaks for himself through his *Diary, Journal*, and *Memorandum Book*. The author's conclusion is justified: his was "an interesting but not an extraordinary life," and his claim to fame rests chiefly on his able work in organizing the Diocese of Newark. The work is well-rounded through a thorough use of archival sources, printed sources, and newspapers. The price of the paper-bound book is high, but Archbishop Bayley's life need not be written again.

JOHN J. TIERNEY, S. S.

St. Charles College
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The Selected Writings of Benjamin Rush. Edited by DAGOBERT D. RUNES. New York: Philosophical Library, [1947]. 433 pp. $5.00.

Dr. Benjamin Rush was many things—physician, teacher, signer of the Declaration, college founder, reformer, pamphleteer, lay religionist, socially conscious citizen at all times. He was not, obviously, a simple person. Even now biographers hesitate to take him on, and people argued about him hotly during his lifetime. He was, everybody conceded, full of ideas. And many of the ideas were brilliant. But some were terrible, too. Over-enthusiastic, impetuous, self-contradictory, Doctor Rush was, as he said every student should be, "always . . . in an absorbing state." Every new interest inspired an essay—dashed off before the subject was fully clarified in his own mind, and rushed to the printer without, one must suspect, always a rereading. It is possible to pick flaws in most of Rush's writings; it is also possible, as several students (not Mr. Runes) have shown, so to excerpt them that he emerges one of the great thinkers of all times. He was not that, of course, but he definitely had his points.

The writings collected in this book show Doctor Rush from many sides. They are about his various enthusiasms—education, government, the abolition of slavery and capital punishment, the Bible, and (first, last, and foremost) the theory and practise of medicine. That medicine was truly his profession the readers of his letters from Philadelphia, during the yellow fever of 1793, and of his famous "Duties of a Physician" lecture to a graduating class, can hardly doubt. Maybe he did rush in where angels feared to tread—treading sometimes on eminent doctors' toes. Maybe the Philadelphia cemeteries were, as Cobbett charged, full of corpses that he zealously bled white. Maybe he made mistakes, as doctors still do. But the first dispensary in America is to his credit, and occupational therapy, and the beginnings of modern psychoanalysis.

Readers of Mr. Runes' book will want to go beyond his brief editorial preface (which censors the Conway Cabal) for more about an exceptionally full, vivid life. They must also look up a serious omission, *Medical Inquiries and Observations upon Diseases of the Mind* (1812), the paper on which Rush's professional fame chiefly rests. But they will find in this book an admirable cross-section, chosen well for pertinency and readability.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Frederick Parish, Virginia, 1744-1780. By EVERARD KIDDER MEADE, With Three Original Maps, by JOSIAH LOOK DICKINSON. Winchester, Va.: Pifer Printing Co., Inc., 1947. 70 pp.

The author, Mr. Meade, descends from Bishop William Meade, famous in the annals of the church in Virginia; whose father, Richard Kidder Meade of Washington's Staff, sold his estates to aid the cause of Independence.

Frederick Parish had no fine churches and chapels like those in the Tidewater Country so that time and decay alone were sufficient to account for the destruction of the original buildings. Nor was there a general decline in religion in Frederick Parish as happened elsewhere in Virginia after the Revoluton.

Frederick Parish was the first parish established west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Its boundaries were the same as those of Frederick County, and included the area of the present Frederick, Clarke, Warren, Shenandoah, and a part of Page County in Virginia, and also Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, and Mineral Counties in West Virginia and parts of Hardy, Grant and Tucker Counties in West Virginia.

The first vestry book of the parish has long since disappeared and the difficulty of trying to piece out a history of the parish from such other records as can be found can only be appreciated by one whom experience has taught the chaotic condition of the Virginia records.

The parish had one church and seven chapels. The church was in Winchester and the chapels were Morgan's Chapel, located in what is now

Berkeley County, West Virginia, near Bunker Hill, Cunningham Chapel, i. e., the "old chapel" near Berryville now Clarke County, Virginia, McKay's Chapel located near the old stone dwelling of the McKays (the oldest building in that county) at Cedarville, Warren County, Virginia, Mecklenberg Chapel at what is now known as Shepherdstown, Jefferson County, West Virginia. In addition, there were three chapels in what is now Warren County, Virginia, on the branches of the Shenandoah River, namely the South River Chapel, the North River Chapel and the chapel at Ephraim Leith's Spring on the South Branch of the River. The sites of these three last named chapels have never been discovered. None of the original church or chapel buildings remain though the present Cunningham Chapel was erected in 1791.

It may have been McKay's Chapel or the lost chapel on the "North River" or the church at Winchester where Charles Buck, a member of the vestry of Frederick Parish, attended services. He was a large land owner who resided near where Passage Creek empties into the north branch of the Shenandoah River. His son, Captain Thomas Buck (1756-1842), writing about his childhood days, says: "I used to go to church with my father and mother but never understood the sermon." These references to the "church" and the "sermon" suggest that they attended services in Winchester.

Of the abilities and fitness of the ministers to occupy their ecclesiastical offices, no evidence is directly presented. Yet this history shows that the Reverends John Gordon and William Meldrum spent much of their time and effort in order to obtain decent payment for their services, that the latter was a chronic litigant and that the Rev. Benjamin Sebastian, who moved to Kentucky, was a venal and traitorous man. The Reverend Charles Mynn Thurston, though charged with neglect of duty, was a highly patriotic man who became a "fighting parson" and rose to the rank of colonel in the Revolutionary Army and is represented today in the Virginia Cincinnati. The author's comment "that there is no evidence to show that any of the four failed to discharge his ministerial duties conscientiously and acceptably," seems more favorable to the ministers than the account in the history warrants.

The churchmen in Frederick Parish had much to do with the revival of religion in Virginia after the Revolution and also with the establishment of the Virginia Theological Seminary.

Cunningham Chapel Parish, the present name of what is left of the original Frederick Parish, occupies only a part of Clarke County.

The author resides near Millwood and is a member of the church there. A recent disastrous fire completely destroyed the interior of that church and only its walls remain!

WALTER H. BUCK

Rehearsal for Conflict: The War With Mexico, 1846-1848. By Alfred Hoyt Bill. New York: Knopf, 1947. 342, x pp. $4.50.

Rehearsal for Conflict is a popularly written study of the Mexican War, its background, and its relationship to the Civil War, designed to acquaint the reader with a previously neglected era in American history. Mr. Bill presents a repudiation of the theory that the Mexican War was an aggressive one incited by those who favored the "Manifest Destiny" doctrine. The hero of the story is "Little Jimmy" Polk, the only President to achieve his campaign promises, The story is, consequently, an effort to restore him to his rightful place among the country's great leaders.

The author begins his tale with a description of the disastrous explosion aboard the *Princeton* in February, 1844. He follows this with an account of the social life in Washington during the Tyler and Polk administrations. All of this is interesting enough to read, but could either have been omitted entirely or considerably shortened. It has no place in the military study into which *Rehearsal for Conflict* develops.

Not until his third chapter does the author reach the opening skirmishes of the war. He portrays quite vividly the crooked politics in the American Army and all the less glamorous sides of an infantryman's existence. After reading Mr. Bill's penetrating reports, one wonders how the United States ever managed to win the war at all.

Maryland readers will be particularly interested in this book. The Baltimore Battalion played a prominent role in the war. This unit, one of the relatively few Eastern units to participate, was composed mainly of sailors, fishermen, and inhabitants of the back streets of Baltimore. They are said to have behaved themselves better than did most volunteer units. In addition, Major (later General) John R. Kenly wrote the *Memoirs of a Maryland Volunteer in the War with Mexico* which Mr. Bill has cited in his bibliography and which is the only account of Marylanders in that war.

In general, the book is well done. His interpretations of the military events are quite impartial. His bibliography is particularly useful. His title is suitable because the Mexican War was the rehearsal for the increased sectional bitterness in the decade to follow. It was also a period of practical training for many of the officers who later fought in the Civil War. Unfortunately, Mr. Bill does not interpret the war in the light of these two ideas. In addition, many scholars are unable to agree with his thesis that the Mexican War resulted from acts of unprovoked aggression. Nevertheless, the book is a pleasure to read, and should be read by those Americans who are ignorant as to the causes of some of the suspicions the Pan-American nations feel toward "the colussus of the North." In short, his book has done much to destroy the myth that the United States can do no wrong in her dealing with her neighbors.

Frank F. White, Jr.

Maryland and Virginia Roundabout. By AGNES ROTHERY. Illustrated by George Gray. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1947. 203 pp. $2.75.

Authors and publishers who produce the juvenile non-fiction from which American young people learn something of our nation's development are duty bound to present accurate accounts of simple history. Both author and publisher of *Maryland and Virginia Roundabout* have shirked this responsibility.

Consisting of a series of sketches which bear little inter-relation, the book rests on a firm foundation of unsound research. No less than seven times, for example, the author refers to one "Lemuel" Calvert as Maryland's first Governor. Again, the author claims that, regardless of where they were built, all clipper ships were called Baltimore Clippers. She informs us, in addition, that the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery is a part of the University of Baltimore. Twice she emphasizes that President Jefferson did not negotiate the Louisiana Purchase until after the explorers Lewis and Clark had reported favorably upon the territory's worth. Moreover, in his picture map the illustrator presents the Dogwood as Maryland's State Flower and the Black-Eyed Susan as Virginia's. Such are only a few of the woeful errors which stud the pages of this book. None of them concern controversial issues; they are mis-statements, made by the author and accepted by the publisher, of simple, uncontested historical fact.

Too, the book abounds in evidence of careless workmanship. On page 32, for instance, the author states that Benjamin Henfry experimented with gas light in Baltimore in 1821; referring again to Henfry on page 81, the date becomes 1812. Neither is correct. Further carelessness is apparent in the author's use of the terms "Piscaway" and "Susquehanna" to designate two of early Maryland's Indian tribes. Worst of the author's many slips, perhaps, is her statement that the Roanoke expedition to Virginia occurred one hundred and twenty-three years before the settlement of Jamestown—a revelation to students of pre-Columbian American history. Such inaccuracies as these—and the list has been far from exhausted—should never have appeared; once made in manuscript, however, they should have been detected by even an indifferent proofreader.

One searches the book in vain for some outstanding, worthwhile feature. The author has a penchant for sweeping statements which land her in hot historical water. Her main attempt to impart a juvenile tone to her book is made by use of a cute and saccharine style; she is almost heedless of possible vocabulary difficulties for young readers and her structure lacks unity and coherence. So loose is her construction, for example, on page 4, that no matter how diligently one reads, one is forced to the impossible conclusion that the *Ark* and the *Dove* first made port in Maryland at Baltimore. Often on the same page and occasionally in the same paragraph, the author touches on several events whose chronological scope encompasses two or three hundred years. Confusion results.

Doubtless a need exists for supplementary juvenile readers in the field of Maryland and Virginia history; by a wide margin, however, this book fails to meet that need.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE

The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890. By VERNON LANE WHARTON. (The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, volume 28.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947. 289 pp.

In the space of less than 300 pages, Professor Wharton has undertaken to present the various aspects of the Negro problem in Mississippi during the three decades following 1860. As he states in the introduction to his monograph, the problem of how the two races, white and black, were to get along on terms satisfactory to the former and endurable to the latter, could not be solved, and therefore "a *modus vivendi* had to be found" (p. 5).

In an effort to explore every phase of the complex Negro problem, the author has presented a vast quantity of minutiae, in large part gleaned from a score of short articles dealing with the Negro and Reconstruction, but on the county level, and from a wide range of local newspapers. This mass of material, often of a statistical nature, is sometimes presented in clear tabular form. If this method of presentation had been followed throughout the monograph, the text would be more readable and the statistics more impressive. Examples of the need for tables are the figures of Negro deaths from disease (p. 53), county tax rates (pp. 170-171), and much of the material on Negro higher education (pp. 251-255).

Dr. Wharton's desire to cover all the ramifications of his topic, and still hold his monograph to reasonable length, has led to the slighting of the concluding chapters dealing with education, religion, and social life among the Mississippi Negroes. It would have been better either to have limited the scope of the work, perhaps to the material in the first fifteen chapters, or to have broadened and lengthened the entire study.

Attention is drawn by Dr. Wharton to the proposed replacement of free Negro labor on the Mississippi plantations with Chinese coolies who were to be contracted for with certain agents in San Francisco. Apparently this scheme never advanced beyond the stage of wishful thinking.

Dr. Wharton has presented a composite picture of the struggle of the Negro and white jockeying for economic and political position in post-bellum Mississippi. He has employed admirable restraint in his approach to the controversial racial issue and has succeeded in avoiding most of the pitfalls that lie in the path of those handling this problem. He has used liberal extracts from private correspondence, newspaper accounts, and public addresses; and the text is more than adequately fortified with footnote citations. His bibliography is extensive, although only partially annotated.

In sum, Dr. Wharton has made a definite contribution both to the local history of Mississippi and to the story of the southern Negro.

RICHARD K. MURDOCH

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

William Penn And Our Liberties. By WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT. Philadelphia: Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co., 1947. 146 pp.

This small volume, making the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company's centennial, opens with the story of the Liberty Bell—the memorial to the fiftieth anniversary of Pennsylvania's final colonial charter, granted by William Penn in 1701. Its later association with the revolutionary tradition is of secondary importance. The author's aim is to show the influence of Penn on civil liberties, but he does more to show the influence of Quakerism on William Penn.

Largely a condensation of Comfort's earlier book, *William Penn, A Tercentenary Estimate*, this work places more emphasis on Penn's influence in the New World. Almost three-quarters of the book considers the factors which shaped Penn's character and activities—his birth into a high stratum of seventeenth century English society, his conversion to Quakerism, his physical hardihood, and his education. There are, in these pages, many implications as to the nature of Penn's contributions in the field of civil liberties. But perhaps the greatest values of the book are a better understanding of the Quakerism of that period and of the problems facing a Quaker forced to apply the principles of Quakerism in many areas of no concern to the average Friend of that age. The pages dealing with Penn's influence on American liberties show that the early charters of New Jersey and Pennsylvania included many of the great Friend's thoughts on religious toleration, fair treatment of the Indians, penal reform, and other matters of importance. The influence of Penn's plan for colonial union on the later Articles of Confederation is indicated. Perhaps more significant to the present day is the author's suggestion that following Penn's advice—" Let us then try what Love will do. . . ."—may lead to Freedom from Fear.

Comfort's statement on Pennsylvania's ratification of the Constitution (p. 95) takes no account of the manner in which acceptance was secured—a thing which would modify his implications. The footnotes would be more valuable if they followed the accepted form. But these minor errors are overshadowed by good points.

ROBERT C. DELK.

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

The Metropolitan Life: A Study in Business Growth. By MARQUIS JAMES. New York: Viking Press, 1947. 480 pp. $5.00.

In this work on America's largest private corporation Mr. James has deserted his usual fields, which have brought him two Pulitzer prizes, and has pushed back the frontiers of the little-explored area of business history. Lest this deviation frighten his legion of followers, it should be said at once that his writing has lost little, if any, of its strength or appeal. The value of such an account is obvious to any student of America's economic history for the period after 1865. Too long has such material been denied researchers because of bitter memories of the "muckraking" days and suspicions that modern writers have the same axe to grind.

Mr. James has made good use of the records of the Metropolitan to mirror the economic forces molding this nation as reflected in the fortunes of the company. After briefly sketching the early story of insurance throughout the world, he introduces the "National Union Life and Limb Insurance Company." Founded in 1863, this firm ambitiously hoped to cover the United States' armed forces against the hazards of war but soon discovered it had outreached itself. However the attempt was indicative of the high aims for service which have characterized the group throughout its long life under successive names. Probably Metropolitan's future was assured by the early (1869) realization of the need for policies within the reach of wage earners able to afford only a few cents a week for them. It excelled not only in the industrial field but also step by step expanded its functions to include other types of insurance and other income groups until by 1945 it had assets of $7,561,997,270.37, the property of 31,500,000 policyholders.

Even more impressive is the continuing evidence of a deep feeling of social responsibility, seen not only in mutualization but also in the active fight to reduce tuberculosis, diphtheria, diabetes, and venereal diseases. This involved the use of company nurses, educational propaganda, and controlled experiments. At Thetford Mines, Canada, Framingham, Massachusetts, and Kingsport, Tennessee, whole communities served as testing areas. Of timely interest is Metropolitan's leadership in producing low-cost housing.

The book is well executed with ample footnotes, bibliography, and index. It is a study which should go far to reassure corporations of the historian's impartiality and to encourage a wider survey of the part business played in forming the America of today.

JOHN S. EZELL

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

NOTES AND QUERIES

The Dorsey (Dossey) Family of Calvert County

By Nannie Ball Nimmo

In the year 1660 Richard Preston, of "Preston's Cliffs" in Calvert County, brought into the province, Ralph Dosey and John Smith. To Ralph Dosey, on the 25th of July, 1663, he assigned his rights for the transportation,[1] whereupon Ralph *Dasey* demanded 100 acres of land by right of the said assignment. Ralph Dosse is found in Talbot County in 1669.[2]

In 1668 Captain James Connaway proved his rights for bringing James Dorsey and others into the province,[3] and on the 12th of October 1674 John Dossey of Dorchester County, demanded land for service performed in this province.[4]

The above named Ralph, James, John, were named in the will of Richard Preston of Calvert County, made in 1669. In event of the death of his son James, kinsmen James and John Dorsey to possess a patent of land for 600 acres, kinsman Ralph Dossey, land on Little Choptank River. The name is spelt both Dorsey and Dossey in the will.[5]

Ralph and John Dossey settled on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and left descendants. The late Mrs. Hester Dorsey Richardson, noted genealogist, was descended from John Dossey of Dorchester County.

James Dorsey established himself on a 200 acre tract of land called "Bennett's Desire" on the east side of the Patuxent River, near Hunting Creek, Plum Point being on the other side of the Ridge.[6]

This land adjoined the land of Francis Billingsley, a Quaker, and it is thought that James Dorsey too was a Quaker, as was his son James.[7]

The will of John Gill, witnessed by James Dossey, was probated in 1687. To Elizabeth, daughter of John Johnson, was bequeathed personalty; the residue of the estate was given to Martha Morris, the daughter of Martha Dossey, who was named as executrix.[8]

Nathaniel Cranford and his wife Martha Cranford were administrators of that will in 1687.[9] Martha Cranford must have been at least 18 years

[1] Patent Book, 5, 535. Land Office, Annapolis.
[2] *Archives of Maryland*, 54, 451. Land Office, Annapolis.
[3] Patent Book, 11, 337. Land Office, Annapolis.
[4] Patent Book, 18, 116. Land Office, Annapolis.
[5] Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, I, 50.
[6] Calvert County Rent Rolls, Calvert Paper 882, Maryland Historical Society.
[7] Wills, v. 25, 48. Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[8] Baldwin, *Calendar* I, 50.
[9] Administration Accounts, V. 9, 89, Hall of Records.

of age at this time, probably born about 1669. It is assumed that Martha Dossey was the wife of James Dossey, but there must have been another wife, possibly a Rebecca, mother of some, if not all, of his children.

James Dorsey is named in the list of Inhabitants of Calvert County in 1684,[10] and witnessed the will of Thomas Jessops.[11] In 1711 James Dossey witnessed the will of George Pascall.[12]

James Dorsey and his wife were living in 1723, when on the 22 of May, their son John Dossey made his will, leaving to his mother ¼ of his estate, the remainder was bequeathed to his father, sister Rebecca Talbot and his brothers. His brother James was made executor. Personalty was left to Elizabeth Stallings.[13]

While neither will nor administration account has been found for James Dorsey, the names of his children are known, viz.; James, Timothy, Richard, John, William, Philip and Rebecca Talbot.

James Dorsey, Jr. as eldest son was heir to the homestead on " Bennett's Desire," " where now lives Young Dorsey Hance," not in the original house, that having burned down. The place seems now known as " Bunker Hill."

James, Jr., made his will in 1758, naming his wife Mary, and his eleven children, viz; James, Mary, Rebecca, John, Sarah, Philip, Daniel, Francis, Benjamin, Joseph.[14]

Mary became the wife of John Davis Scarfe, Rebecca the wife of James Crawford, Sarah wife of John Standford.[15]

James, Jr.'s lands, were " Garden," " Robinson's Rest," " Deer Quarter," " Bennett's Desire."

His sons Philip and Daniel were taxed by the vestry of All Saints Parish as bachelors in 1761.[16] In 1770 his son John, gave his age as 40 years, his daughter Rebecca as 34 years, while that same year, his son Philip claims to have been born in 1736.[17]

Timothy Dossey, of James, Sr. died intestate in 1732. His Inventory[18] names (his brothers), James and William, as next of kin (his brothers) Richard and Philip as administrators. The account shows that Richard, Philip and Timothy had been in partnership; their shares of the business were divided.[19]

Philip Dossey of James, Sr. born in 1705,[20] was a member of Christ Church Parish. He married 1st, Ann Allen, named in the will of Charles

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[10] Henry J. Berkley, " First Century of the County of Calvert, " MS, Md. Hist. Soc.
[11] *Baldwin, Calendar*, 1, 134.
[12] *Baldwin*, 3, 195.
[13] *Baldwin*, 5, 153.
[14] Will Book 31, 402, Hall of Records.
[15] Administration Accounts, 49, 340, Hall of Records.
[16] All Saint's Parish, Calvert County, Vestry Proc. Copy, Md. Hist. Soc.
[17] Chancery Record, W. K. no. 1, 251, 292, Hall of Records.
[18] Inventories, 17, 63, Hall of Records.
[19] Accounts, 11, 644, Hall of Records.
[20] Chancery Record, W. K. no. 1, 257.

Allen of Calvert County. In 1733,[21] Philip Dossey and his wife, Ann, sign as next of kin, in the Inventory of Charles Allen in 1734.[22]

The children of Philip and Ann are recorded in the Christ Church Parish Register, namely, James, born 8 Sept. 1735, Elizabeth born 26 of July, 1738, Ann born April, 1741, Rebecca born March 5th 1742.[23]

In his will Philip names them as " my 4 children."

There is no record of the death of Ann, but the parish record shows that Philip, son of Philip and Martha, was born the 11 of August, 1759.[24]

In 1750 Philip Dossey and Joseph Skinner were appointed as inspectors for Plum Point and Shinting Creek.[25] Philip does not seem to have lived on the home place, his lands were a resurvey on several tracts, " Tawney's Addition," " Young's Nest," " Young's Pasture." [26]

He made his will in Calvert County, December 6, 1774, leaving to his wife Martha, a horse and half of his estate during life, at her death to be divided among his children. To son Philip he leaves 2 negroes and a horse, to be divided among his 4 children, should Philip die. His son James is named as executor, son Philip is left in his care.[27]

John Dossey and Francis Dossey, sons of James Dossey, Jr., sign as next of kin in his inventory.[28]

His wife Martha was still living on the 7 of March, 1775, when, with James Dossey, she administered on the estate of her husband, Philip Dossey.[29]

James Dossey, son of Philip, came into possession of " Young's Forrest," and " Tawney's Addition." [30]

Philip Dossey, Jr. was but 14 years of age when his father died, and seems to have inherited no land, being the youngest child and by a 2nd wife. When 19 years of age he signed the oath of Fidelity, and is found on the Returns of William Harris, March 2, 1778, for Calvert County.[31]

In 1782 he is still unmarried,[32] paying taxes on 2 slaves and 2 horses, possibly the 1 horse inherited from his mother, for his father had left to him 1 horse and to his mother 1 horse. This would indicate that his mother was dead. He married before 1784 or about that time, and in 1786 had a wife, one child and 4 slaves.[33] His wife was Barbara Broome, by whom he had William Henry Dossey (Doctor) m. Judith Brasure Skinner in 1811, Ann Dossey m. Henry Carr, Dorcas Dossey m. David Simmons,

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[21] *Baldwin Calendar*, 7, 116.
[22] Inventories, 1734, Hall of Records.
[23] Christ Church Register, Calvert County, Copy, Md. Hist. Soc.
[24] Christ Church Register, p. 57.
[25] Maryland State Papers, No. 1, Black Book, No. 1, 677, Hall of Records.
[26] Debt Books, Calvert County, Land Office.
[27] Magruder's Maryland Colonial Abstracts, II, 21.
[28] Magruder's Maryland Colonial Abstracts, II, 21.
[29] Testamentary Proceedings, 46, 205, Hall of Records.
[30] Debt Book, Calvert County, Land Office.
[31] Margaret R. Hodges, " Unpublished Revolutionary Records of Maryland," vol. 6, 12: also Rev. Records, Hall of Records.
[32] 1782 Tax List, Calvert County, Land Office.
[33] 1786 Tax List, Calvert County, Maryland Historical Society.

Walter P. Dossey, born 1795 d. 1833, m. Dec. 22, 1818, Ann Sedwick Ireland, born 1788, died 1834.

Rebecca Dossey died unmarried in 1810.[34]

Philip Dossey, Jr. died in 1818. He retained the name Dossey.

Walter P. Dorsey, b. 1795, and his wife Ann Sedwick Ireland, had issue:

Dr. Richard Dorsey.

Philip Henry Dorsey, b. Calvert Co., 1827; d. St. Mary's Co. 1899, m. Ann Letitia Bryant in 1865. She was b. 1836, d. 1895.

Susan M. Dorsey.

Alethea Dorsey married Young Parran Dawkins; issue, Judge Walter Parran Dawkins.

Ann Dorsey m. Joseph Griffith.

Walter W. Dorsey m. Julian Marie Sedwick.

Philip Henry Dorsey b. 1827 and his wife Letitia Bryant had issue:

Walter B. Dorsey m. Elizabeth Maddox Turner.

Nannie R. Dorsey m. James J. Stone of St. Mary's County, issue Luke Dorsey Stone.

Philip H. Dorsey.

Ellen Alethea Dorsey m. Frank Tilton Gibson.

Richard Luke Dorsey, deceased.

Amy R. Dorsey unmarried.

The name Dossey is no longer heard, the descendants use the name Dorsey, and so it was spelt in the Parish Registers.

Gen. Jonathan Clark—In compiling a history of the descendants of General Jonathan Clark I wish to obtain complete records. The following is a brief record of General Clark:

Jonathan Clark, son of John and Ann (Rogers) Clark, was born Aug. 12, 1750, in Albemarle Co., Va., and died Nov. 25, 1811, at "Mulberry Hill," Jefferson Co., Ky. On Feb. 13, 1872, he married Sarah, dau. of Col. Isaac and Eleanor (Eltinge) Hite, who was born May 11, 1758, in Frederick Co., Va., and died Oct. 1811, at "Mulberry Hill." During the Revolution he served in the 8th Virginia Regiment and was at Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and Paulus Hook. In November, 1779, he was promoted to rank of lieut. col. in the Continental Army. In 1780 he surrendered at Charleston, S. C., and was paroled in the spring of 1781. In 1793 he was commissioned major general of the Virginia forces. His children were:

(1) Eleanor Eltinge, b. Sept. 5, 1783, d. 1867; married Rev. Benjamin Temple.

(2) John Hite, b. Sept. 29, 1785, d. 1820.

(3) Isaac, b. Oct. 6, 1787, d. Jan. 27, 1868.

(4) Mary, b. March 30, 1790, d. July 5, 1791.

[34] Philip Dossey Bible Records in possession of Mrs. Frank Tilton Gibson, Takoma Park, Md.

(5) Ann, b. May 19, 1792, d. July 18, 1833; married James Anderson Pearce.

(6) Dr. William, b. Nov. 13, 1795, d. Feb. 3, 1879; married Frances Ann Tompkins.

(7) George Washington, b. Aug. 24, 1798, d. 1883; married Martha A. Price.

I shall be grateful for any further data that readers may be able to supply.

JOHN FREDERICK DORMAN III,
Filson Club, 118 W. Breckinridge St.
Louisville, Ky.

Edward Davis—My grandfather built and designed the terminal station for the Washington railway which later was changed to Georgetown. Because he was a Confederate he worked for many years in Washington under his mother's maiden name, instead of his own. He was Edward Davis of Odenton, Maryland, and born at Fairfax Courthouse, Virginia. Can anyone give me the name used by the man who built the terminal?

BERTHA DAVIS BABCOCK,
1885 Lemoyne Street, Los Angeles 26, Calif.

Fairbairn—Wanted, information regarding the parentage of the following, all of Baltimore: (1) *Tabitha* (*Fairbairn*) Hayes, b. 1787; m. May 16, 1811, Reverdy Hayes; d. March 13, 1843; 5 children. (2) *Thomas* (*Houston?*) *Fairbairn*, b. 1785-90; m. Nov. 7, 1809, Maria Eliza Henry; in defense of Baltimore a sergeant in Capt. Pike's Balto. Vol. Artillery; owned land in Louisville, Ky.; d. May 7, 1823; 5 children. (3) *James Fairbairn*, b. 1793; in War of 1812-14 Pvt. in Capt. Levering's Co. Independent Blues; d. June 5, 1818, at Havana. (4) Who was *John Fairbairn* who witnessed the Will of Baruch Williams at Baltimore in 1817?

R. G. SMITH,
704 Arlington Mill Dr.,
Arlington, Va.

Nicknames of Maryland Cities and Towns—I am engaged in research to discover the past and present nicknames of American cities and towns. I shall be gratified if readers of the Magazine will send me the nicknames that have been applied to villages, towns and cities of Maryland.

GERARD L. ALEXANDER, F. R. G. S.
Map Division, New York Public Library,
5th Ave. & 42nd St., New York City

Kratz's Burying Ground—Any one knowing the location of this graveyard, supposed to be in Maryland, will confer a favor by notifying

L. H. DIELMAN, New Windsor, Md.

Burrell-Dent; Forrest-DuVall—I will pay $50.00 to the first person sending me the names of the father and mother (the mother's family name) of the following: Alexander Burrell, who married Eleanor Dent in 1756; William Forrest, who married in 1735 Lucy Duvall. In 1738 he sold 200 acres of Beall's Manor to Charles Williams. Did William Forrest inherit or purchase this property?

Mrs. NORVILLE FINLEY YOUNG,
1968 Denune Avenue, Columbus 11, Ohio.

Parker Genealogical Prize—In memory of Mr. Sumner A. Parker, Mrs. Parker has presented to the Society an additional $1000, thereby doubling the endowment previously established by her for the annual award of prizes for the best compilations of genealogical materials given to the Society's Library. The award will hereafter be known as the *Dudrea and Sumner Parker Genealogical Prize*. The competition is open to non-members as well as members of the Society. The sum of $50 will be available each year and will be divided between contestants in accordance with the opinion of three judges selected by the Society. Completeness, authenticity and clarity will be the factors determining the decisions. All material entered in this contest must be received by the Society by December 31, 1948.

Caton Family—I offer $25.00 to first person producing proof of parentage of Theophilus Caton, born by 1750, probably in Maryland; in Washington County, Pa., 1800 Census; died in Muskingum County, Ohio, 1825; wife, Catherine; children: Mary Larison, Rachel Larison, (born 1790 in Maryland), Theophilus Jr. and Greenberry Caton.

GRACE HOBLIT JACOBS, 1151 Willow St., San Diego, Calif.

CONTRIBUTORS

Formerly a research assistant at the Army War College, MISS BOWIE is a student of the Revolutionary War and an occasional contributor to this Magazine. ☆ DR. FORMAN is Head of the Department of Art at Agnes Scott College. His books on Maryland and Virginia architecture and archaeology are well known. ☆ Grandson of Benjamin H. Latrobe, chief engineer of the B. and O. Railroad, and great grandson and namesake of the first professional architect of the United States, MR. WESTON comes honestly by his interest in art, literature and history. His articles in the daily press have long commanded attention. ☆ A member of the Society's library staff, MR. WHITE received his master's degree in history last June from the University of Maryland. During the war he saw combat service with the U. S. Army in Italy.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933,

Of Maryland Historical Magazine, published quarterly at Baltimore 1, Maryland, for October, 1947.

State of Maryland, City of Baltimore, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James W. Foster, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Maryland Historical Magazine, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

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JAMES W. FOSTER,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1947.

T. B. HOFMANN,
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(My commission expires May 2, 1949.)

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"Hampton," Baltimore County, Maryland.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

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Annual Subscription to the Magazine $3.00. Each issue 75c. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

James W. Foster, Editor.
John Ralph Lambert, Jr., Associate Editor.

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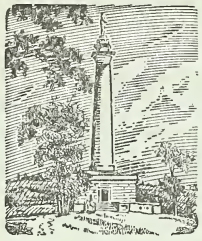
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, and of the *Archives of Maryland* under the authority of the State.

The annual dues of the Society are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sundays, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. June 15 to Sept. 15, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 2.



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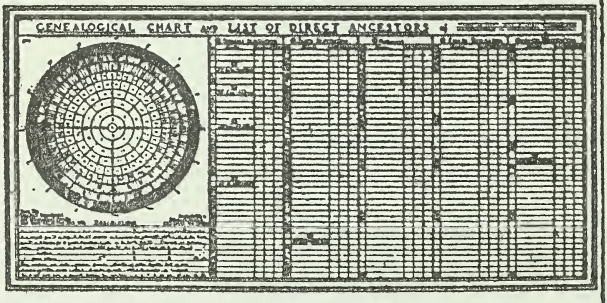

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLIII JUNE, 1948 Number 2

TRAVELS OF AN ENGLISH IMMIGRANT TO MARYLAND IN 1796–1797

Edited by JOHN RALPH LAMBERT, JR.

ALTHOUGH many American families trace their ancestry to some adventurous spirit who relinquished European ties in order to establish himself in the New World, accounts of the actual voyage of migration, related by the forebear who made it, are few indeed. The following sketch, written in 1829, from notes describing events in 1796 and 1797, supplies such a narrative for one Maryland family—the Brevitts. In it Dr. Joseph Brevitt, a hospital surgeon attached to units of the British army in the West Indies, describes conditions existing in both the Windward and the Leeward Islands during the epoch following the French Revolution, his disillusionment at the prospects of advancement in military service, and his ultimate determination to seek his fortune in the recently established American Republic.

Brevitt was born July 26, 1769, in Wolverhampton, England,

the son of Joseph and Ann (Wilkes) Brevitt. The latter was a first cousin of John Wilkes, the liberty-loving member of Parliament, who was so popular in colonial America. Young Brevitt studied medicine, enrolling as a member of the Corporation of Surgeons at Surgeon's Hall, London, was appointed assistant surgeon in the Eleventh Regiment Light Horse and was promoted to surgeon on the medical staff. He was admitted as an ordinary member to the Medical Debating Society, Guy's Hospital, London, and later became an honorary member. Settling in Baltimore in 1798, he became a practicing physician and the author of several medical treatises. On November 29, 1798, he married Cassandra Webster Woodland, daughter of Jonathan Woodland and Cassandra Webster, and granddaughter of Isaac and Margaret (Lee) Webster of Harford County. Of the 12 children of this marriage, descendants of only two are living today. Dr. Brevitt's daughter, Cassandra Ann, married William Ellis Coale, and another daughter, Eleanora Isabella, became Mrs. Thomas Mackenzie.

This description of Brevitt's travels was handed down to Mrs. Mackenzie's daughter, the late Mrs. Edwin Brevitt (Katherine Mackenzie), a life member of the Maryland Historical Society and member of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Society of the Ark and the Dove. At her death in 1945 it passed to her nephew, the Honorable Ogle Marbury, Chief Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals, son of the Reverend Ogle Marbury and his wife, Eleanora Brevitt Mackenzie.

The sketch itself is contained in a small book which Judge Marbury has deposited with the Society. Passages of minor interest have been omitted below. A few changes have been made in punctuation, but oddities of spelling and capitalization remain as written. Several letters of Dr. Brevitt, dated from Baltimore, will be reproduced in a subsequent issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

A SKETCH OF AN EXCURSION THROUGH SEVERAL OF THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS IN THE YEARS 1796 & 1797—BY JOSEPH BREVITT, F. S. C., HOSPITAL SURGEON IN THE BRITISH SERVICE.

Being appointed in London in the summer of 1796 a Hospital Surgeon to the General Military Staff for the Windward Islands of the West Indies under the command of His Excellency, General Sir Ralph Aber-

crombie [1] I was ordered immediately to repair to Portsmouth an extensive City and Seaport on the Southern Coast of England in the County of Hampshire & there to join the combined fleets for the East and West Indies, and also the Mediterrenean fleet, which consisted altogether of about two hundred sail, waiting the signal for sailing, where I remained about six weeks before it took place. During this interval I was unemployed & yet it not being possible to ascertain the moment the Signal may be given for sailing, we were forbid being far from our destination. During my residence in this Seaport I took boarding at a private house . . . where I became acquainted with a French gentleman Somewhat older than myself and bound to the Mediterranean. We jointly (with others) proposed a visit to the Isle of Wight, a beautiful Island to the South, of about from two to three leagues distant; this voyage we performed in about seven hours, detained by a head wind & a visit to a handsome Vessel, which lay about midsea, & in which my friend the Frenchmen had engaged his passage for the Continent. Here we recreated ourselves two or three hours & then proceeded to our port of destination. We arrived & landed at " Hyde," a small village on the Island, mostly the resort of fisherman. . . . Then we proceeded in the Stage Coach (which was waiting for us) to " Newport," the principal town on the Island.

When we approached Newport, we were presented by a town with buildings of the most regular order, the Streets wide and well paved, and the Church in the middle of the town of an Antient and noble Structure. There were destined [detained?] here Asian & Austrian soldiers who (we were informed) were not admitted into Great Britain. Their uniform was course and uncouth, their manners majestic, but impolished. A little mile from this town is a village called " Carrisbrook " and is situated in a vale, & the church appears much more antient than that of Newport, & around the church yard is a hedge of incredible height and thickness and which appears in the utmost neatness and uniformity. On the left is a hill of very considerable assent and which is a continuation of the romantic and beautiful & on the Summit of which are for the most part the ruins of its antient Castle (also belonging to the Governor) who but very rarely visits it, but keeps Servants constantly here for its preservation. As we approached the outward remains of a Stone Gateway, we were advertized by a lettered board " To secure our horses & dogs as none were admitted." As we were on foot and without dogs & were all of the biped classification, this precaution had necessarily less of our attention, but we concluded from this that rational visitors were admitted & consequently we proceeded. When we approached a covered gateway with large Strong wood gates at the other extremity which we found were to be opened by a Silver key, when an English Shilling easily accomplished our wishes. We rang the bell & the wood gates were immediately unfolded and the interior parts of this

[1] Sir Ralph Abercrombie, or Abercromby, had in the preceding years (1795-96) wrested control of St. Lucia and Trinidad from the French.

antient pile presented itself. Our first information was the antiquity of the wood gates, which had stood (it was said) five hundred years! We then proceeded to a grass plat which remains to this day of the same form on which the Earl of Arundel was beheaded! and near to which the present Governor has erected a small neat Chappel; a little onward to the left are the apartments in which King Charles, the first (the martyr, as he is esteemed) was confined. It is now a complete ruin overgrown with the ivy. He attempted his escape through a stone bar'd window, which yet remains. He was afterwards more closely confined. . . . We returned in our way back to Newport, where we continued the succeeding Night & next morning proceeded onward by the stage to "Cowes"[2] another small town four miles from Newport. This is a place of much trade in naval necessaries & also a harbor for the Portsmouth & Southampton Packets. Some situations here are eligable and command an extensive prospect of the sea & southern coast of England, but the buildings, in general, are mean and irregular. We embark'd from this coast on board the packet for Portsmouth. . . .

I continued some little time after this in Portsmouth when I received my orders to embark on board the "Charlton," a vitualling transport for the West Indies, which I obeyed on Friday August 5, 1796 at "Spithead" from whence we immediately moved to "St. Helens" where we remained for a favorable wind for sailing for the West Indies. Our voyage commenced on August 11th, 1796, and after a very pleasant & uninterrupted passage of exactly six weeks, we arrived at the Island of "Barbadoes." Nothing very particular occur'd during this voyage, except that we were "toss'd like a quid of chew'd hay in the throat of a cow" over the boisterous Bay of Biscay soon after which the fleets destined for the East & Mediterrenean left us, much to my Satisfaction, as we appeared much too thick upon the water & proceeded onward towards our port of destination, about sixty vessels in number, under the convoy of the Brunswick of seventy four guns, commanded by Admiral Bligh,[3] who lost one man from on board & was drown'd. We were assail'd, or rather passed by an immense Shoal of porpoises, which the sailors say presage a storm; however we saw none.

The Island of Barbadoes is a very fine picturesque country, of an extent of about twenty five miles by fifteen or more & is very productive both in Fruit & Vegetation, & its principal town is called "Bridgetown"; this town hath nothing of the superb or magnificent about it, or much to recommend it, as to regularity or beauty. The buildings are in general but common & irregular. The Inhabitants are wealthy & carry on a very considerable commerce. There are a few tolerable Inns here for the accommodation of Europeans & other visitors. This island and its

[2] It was from Cowes that the *Ark* and the *Dove* set sail November 22, 1633, on the voyage to Maryland.

[3] Admiral William Bligh, in all likelihood, who as Captain of the *Bounty* had been set adrift by a mutinous crew in 1789 while endeavoring to bring bread fruit plants from Tahiti to the West Indies.

inhabitants (black and white) are perfectly English with the national manners & prejudices. The Barracks Hospital, Fort & Governmenthouse are situated on an agreeable & easy assent on the left of the town called "St. Anns Hill" where I walked with some other medical travellers and waited upon the garrison physician "Dr. Wright," an excellent character from North Britain. We were well received & recommended by him. The refreshment of grog, of some excellent old Rum for which this Island is famed, was very seasonable, for at this juncture I was faint & fatigued with my walk & the oppression of the excessive heat, which is much increased by the reflection from the beds of Sand with which this land abounds. I must not omit this Island has a capacious & excellent harbor in which lay much shipping & the flying fish are seen weilding [*sic*] in flocks of thousands that I was induced to conceive they were Larks. As the signal for again embarking was given from the Admiral's ship ere we obtained the Shore, we of course concluded there was but little time to spare, and accordingly after taking leave of this celebrated physician & still more celebrated as a good man, we returned by the same way to the harbor, but I must not omit the recital of a most generous accost & invitation from an English inhabitant whose name, I believe was "Brown"— viz. "Gentlemen you are Englishmen just arrived in the fleet & are fatigued & probably being strangers without the comfortable provision you may wish. Come to my house & pertake of my table, it is always open to my Countrymen." We would have refused, but he repeated his solicitations with such Emphasis of real old English generosity, we were glad to acquiesce & found ourselves as agreeably received by a happy family & an excellent feast & its excellency was heightened by the manner in which it was given & also by the unexpected manner in whish it was procured. I must not omit a description of an agreeable handsome young widow from England who had very lately lost her husband! After somewhat removing the vail of distress by the consolation of Sympathy, I found a mind unfold itself that would have done credit to the most honorable pretensions! I felt a growing attachment & was pleased to discover my pretentions were not disagreeable, but it was now time to depart, which I must confess I observed with a degree of reluctance if not emotion; however, absence soon obliterated the recent impression & I was again at Liberty.

We again sailed in the Evening for the Island of "Martinique" & in our passage had a Sight [*sic*] of the immence mountains of "St. Lucia" & next day arrived in the harbor of "Fort Royal" the first town on Martinque, which is a large and most Superb Island captured in the present war from the French. This harbor is the principal of our West India navy, & there lay here Admiral Harvey in the Prince of Wales, a Ship of three decks and ninety-eight guns. The day we arrived was the 22nd of September, the anniversary of the King's assention to the Throne. The Admiral's Ship, accompanied with other Ships of Seventy four guns & others of lower rates, had all the Royal Standard[s] hoisted & were firing the usual Royal Salute of twenty one guns each, the distinguishing

number on any royal occasion. We were led to believe the Salute as a compliment to our Commodore as before at the last Island of Barbadoes; but we were soon undeceiv'd by his not returning it & the information received afterwards. We made the Shore in the Evening at twilight. The inhabitants are in general French. The streets are perfectly at right angles. The houses lofty & regular, the windows without glass, so that the black gloomy appearance of the place, pictured to me a strong representation of Newgate Prison, or a Street in London after a great fire; however, the singularity of the people, which are by far the majority Negroes; the women dressed perfectly loose in large Bishops Sleeves; with their strange and unintelligable Yells of the different nocturnal articles they were offering for sale recall'd to my memory that I was among strangers, and I felt a sort of sacred horror. . . .

The idea I had formed of the place led me to wish earnestly to return to my ship & sleep once more in peace in my well known cabin. We did so & revisited the town of Fort Royal in the morning. The white inhabitants having now made their appearance & every arrangement for the business of the day, had a much more pleasing appearance than the evening preceding. After visiting most places worth our curiosity, we pass'd a pleasantly situated green parade on the left of the town in our way to Fort Edward, the name given in honor of the prince who was present at its capture. The Fort is for the most part dependant more on art than nature, being but an inconsiderable eminence raised upon dry masonary & commands the harbor only. . . . After examining the different interstructures of this fortress, we proceeded to one of much more importance both in situation & strength, viz., Fort Bourbon of the French, but it is now call[ed] Fort George in honor of the British Monarch & Nation. The way to this formidable fortress begins from the posterior part of the town & is continued in a Serpentine direction for a very long way up an immence elevation on the summit of which the fort is established. The road is pitched with flat stones throughout & every convenience to render the assent as easy as the nature of the situation will admit of. However the excessive heat of the climate & the length of the journey to a young corpulent man, unused to great exertions of activity & severe labor, was almost more than I could surmount, [but] which negroes of the garrison (who carried heavy loads of provisions, water etc.) seem to perform with ease & satisfaction. I was now made thankful to my maker I was not as one of these. "O! Slavery what a fate is thine."

When we had attained to nearly its summit we halted to take a view of the Island & expatiate on the work of nature & of art in this burning clime 'ere we proceeded to again examine the strength of human inventions & labor, and these were as bountiful as they were picturesque; instead of wheat & other grains as in Europe, the land was in parts covered with extensive plantations of the sugar cane varigated by occasional pasture lands, the town and harbor completely displaid under our feet, and the picture is finished by the boundless & surrounding ocean, which occasionally makes inways into the land & are again varied by alternate pro-

montaries of the land. We now proceeded to enter the Fort, which is so entensive & formidable as to be said to be (except Gibralter) the strongest under the British Crown.

I shall desist from the attempt at minute description of this strong fortress as inadequate to the task [since] military terms &c. Fortifications is a Science I do not possess & refer the reader to such authors as have written on these subjects in particular. Suffice it then to say the different situations seem much to have suffered by assault, gateways torn down, walls of immence height & thickness in part destroyed by cannonading & balls of considerable magnitude still remaining fixed in the situations the cannon had placed them, and cannon themselves dismounted and destroyed by the opposing force of the adversary & numberless other vestages of the ravage and destruction of war. These for the reasons already described when speaking of Fort Edward remain in the want of much repair. The immence eminences are situated in and above the clouds. Consequently from the principle of attraction [they] are almost constantly in light showers which admit of but trivial intervals. We now proceeded again to the town where we engaged a canoe which is a boat of one complete piece work'd from the solid of the trunk of a large tree by the negroes, and we were row'd by six blackmen employed for this purpose to St. Pierre or in English, St. Peter, another town about twenty one miles distant on the same Island. . . .

In the passage from Fort Royal to St. Pierre, or in English, St. Peter, we were presented with the views of numerous plantations in high cultivation with negroe towns of considerable extent, but mean huts irregularly arranged in groups by the side of a declivity or in a neighboring vale. St. Pierre is the principal town on the Island; it is large and situated immediately on the beach, each being in rapid descent. The superior part of the town is furnished with fountains which are giving out water continually of most excellent quality, but stops at pleasure. The water takes its course through the centre of each street running out of one into another till finally it empties into the sea. This provision not only cools but keeps the town clean or otherwise the natural disposition of the French of which the inhabitants are composed and the situation on the declivity of an immense hill would drive out every English inhabitant by heat & filth; this then is a providential precaution for the benefit & comfort of his people. The town is populous & wealthy. The people in dress & fashion are true Parisians: here is also a theatre in which are French representations every Sunday Evening, the Vespers being past, the Sabbath is esteem'd to be closed. There are also several good Inns & accommodations for Foreigners &c. The General Military Hospital is established here, the Inspector General & the principal body of military medical men reside here, although the Commander-in-Chief and the heads of departments of military operations have established Fort Royal to be Headquarters. The Harbor of this place is but very indifferent & the anchorage bad, consequently the harbor of Fort Royal is the established situation for the navy & its departments. Some of the buildings here are

stupendous & majestic but appear not to pertake much of modern elegance & fashion. The place is remarkable for the exorbitance of its demands for almost every domestic necessary, viz.: a fat turkey from 10 to 12 dollars, a good common fowl 2 dollars, a pound of butter 1 dollar (mere cow grease by the extreme heat of the climate) kid or lamb mutton two shillings pr. pound, etc. However, it is much frequented by the gay & fashionable & esteemed the Emporium of West India taste & elegance.

From whence [Martinique] I proceeded to the next Island called " Dominique " another capture from the French at a more distant period,[4] and about twelve hours sail from Martinique. This island is remarkable for its numerous & immense mountains which are continued nearly through its extent. Its appearance whilst sailing under it is best represented or conceived by taking a sheet of writing paper crested or rolled up in the hands, then drawn out a little & laid upon a table or [by] the inequalities of a rough sea in a tempest & yet the intermediate vales & sides of the mountains are very fertile even to their summits which are seen in many places to penetrate through and appear far above the clouds. This Island is nearly the size of Martinique & its principal town is called " Roseau " though not so large as either of the towns of Martinique but much more modern in its buildings. It is also situated upon the Beach & its harbor has generally many trading vessels at anchorage. It consequently has an extensive Commerce. . . .

From the island I sailed to the Saints of Guadeloupe, of five hours distant, which consists of Seven Small Islands,[5] within little more than two leagues of Guadeloupe. These islands are of little value, except the harbor, which is nearly enclosed except a windward & a leward passages, which are formed by divisions of the Islands. The first Island is called the Grand or great Saint & is nearly in possession of an individual French inhabitant Mons. Fidlan & its produce is little else than cotton & coffee. On the opposite side is St. Elett, another Smaller Island divided by the windward passage and on its principal Elevation is another Strong Fort and Blockhouse, which commands the former. This Island is totally without Inhabitants (except the Garrison) of two Regiments. There is always established here a seventy-four King's Ship as a Guard Ship which is relieved by the admiral from Martinique every month. This post was taken from the French in the present war . . . and as it is their only Situation for their naval protection it is esteemed, on this account only, a valuable acquisition from the Enemy. The Island of Guadeloupe being the only one at this time in the possession of the French & its having no good harbor must necessarily much distress them & interrupt the privateers when cruizing off these coasts for our Merchant Traders. . . .

I proceed next to a digression in going back to describe the nature of that professional duty that first sent me to these Islands of the Saints &

[4] The island of Dominica, ceded to England by the French in 1763 had been recaptured by the French during the American Revolution but had been restored to the British in 1783 by the Treaty of Paris.

[5] The Iles des Saintes.

then proceed to further particulars whilst a resident on that Garrison. As I arrived at St. Pierre in Martinique, I waited upon the Inspector General, by name Thomas Younge, a North Britton, or Scotchman, & I soon after found all the heads of departments where of that nation north of the river " Tweed "; they are decidedly the Yankies of Britain & are preferred to all the best appointments. I presume it is a national policy to keep the northern hord in good faith & allegiance & I soon found I was unfortunate to be born too far South of the river of demarkation, and all my Efforts at further promotion futile & unavailing. The inspector ask'd of me " What particular Service I was appointed? " I answered to the Medical Staff & General Hospital on the West India station under the Command of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, another English Yankee. I was informed Sir Ralph commanded the entire Station. " Was there no particular duty allotted to my service? " I answered None! but as he was the head or officer commanding of the medical department on that station & the appointment I presumed rested with him. 'Well Sir' is there any particular station I would prefer? I answered—all places were to me alike, as I was an entire Stranger, where my Services were most needed that was the station to send me to—He acknowledged my condescention, desired me to take care of myself till an appointment was selected for me, when I should be duly apprized. I took my leave in due form & returned to my Tavern which was kept by a great old fat mulatto woman in the town of S. Pierre. I had nothing to do but to eat, drink, sleep, walk, & practice of the Billiard Tables. My pr diem was going on & I was no way anxious or concerned & in this situation glided away five or six weeks. When I received my Orders to repair to the Saints of Guadeloupe. . . . I proceeded accordingly in a water sloop (i. e.) carrying water & was three or four days on our passage. I expected we should have been taken as the sloop was an old dull sailor—however, we arrived safe at our port of destination & I commenced my duties accordingly. I found here a Surgeon's Mate belonging to the forty-fifth, a little contemptible Irishman, without manners & without professional Education. He offered me some Irish insolence & declared that they had sent him a mate, but I soon convinced him he had a Superior; as the regiment was without a Surgeon I was sent for a season to fill that station & he was my mate for the time being & if he did not obey my orders that I should proceed with him accordingly. I heard no more of it afterwards. His name was Anthony Connolly, about five feet four. The other Regiment, viz. the thirty-eighth had a surgeon named Constable, a rough honest good sort of a fellow, who spoke & read the french language like a Native. He also was a native of Ireland. . . . On the island we occupied were many families & refugees of Guadeloupe which our officers occasionally visited in a friendly chit chat way, amongst whom was an ancient couple of the names of Rabaiss. They had a daughter, large course & advanced, there was also a Niece named Madamlle Le Clare who was the very reverse of the daughter. She was handsome, vivacious, genteel with a mind well cultivated. I was introduced into the family, but unfortu-

nately for me, I possessed not a word of French nor they any more English, so that anything like a familiar intercourse was irrevocably cut off; however the natural and fascinating manners of a well bred french woman would alone induce her to pay me in my deprived situation more particular attention. She express'd a wish that I could pertake of the conversation she particularly wished this, I obtained possession of this sentiment by our mutual friend, Dr. Constable. I repeated my visits several times in this way, for I found if we were denied verbal interchange of sentiments, there is a secret Language understood " by Saint, by Savage and by Sage " called sympathy, unison of souls or something else indiscribable. . . . In some of my after visits when we were bandying over our difficulties, a quick thought assailed her, she escaped and brought forward a " French English & English French " dictionary with which we mutually progressed from words to sentences, from sentences to lines & so on progressively. . . . Old Rabais[s] began to impress marriage was bon for me & suppose I should marry one french lady. I should speak french directly, that I had " Bon pronunciation."—O! I answered, how should I address a french lady without possessing her language? O! this is nothing, the french lady understand the Signal, the Signal this was enough. Marriage at this time did not suit my convenience in a strange land or Madamelle Le'Clare was no despicable Selection. Pardon this digression in which perhaps I am too much interested & thereby led into fulsome Egotism. I shall proceed with my subject.

Soon after this period I returned to Martinique on business where from disappointment I left the service. I proceeded from Fort Royal at St. Pierres to engage a passage to the United States in the American fleet, but when I arrived the fleet had sailed: but just at this period the British packet came up & bound to the Island of Antigua in which I took a passage, for which I paid sixteen dollars. Knowing the fleet would touch at Antigua, we sailed under the convoy of a sloop of war & had a retained passage of four or five days in which we sailed close under the Lee of Guadeloupe which was a nearer view of this Superb Island than I had yet had.

Guadeloupe, this most superb and invaluable Island! I am sorry it is not in my power to afford an accurate description of, it being at this time in possession of the enemy. . . . Here was at anchor at this place three first rate forty four gun frigates belonging to France which the British were anxious in any way to obtain possession of. . . . From this I pass'd on to Antigua of about fourteen hours sail. . . .

Antigua is a name descriptive also of the nature of the Island & is derived from the Spanish & signifies a want of water. This is totally without fresh springs & consequently in dry seasons the Inhabitants are very much distress'd for fresh water, which is sometimes sold at the incredible price of one shilling per pailful from such people as have preserved it in Cisterns. As you approach this island it appears on the southern side very mountainous. There is a considerable inlet of the sea which forms an excellent harbor. The first angle of the land has on its summit a strong fortress which defends the mouth of the harbor and

further on is a second considerable fort on a promontary of the land & still further on is a second promontary called from its supposed resemblance "Rat Island," on the summit of which are extensive barracks & at the extremity is situated the principal town called "St. Johns." It is a large town with streets at right angles & a large court-house of public offices. This is also an excellent Episcopal Church and organ on a considerable eminence near the centre of the town & at the superior part are extensive Barracks for one thousand soldiery. This Island is divided into three districts called the Windward, the Pope's Head & the Body. The northern extreme of the island is horizontal and consequently much more productive than the more mountainous. There is also upon this Island another small town called "Pareham" & also [an] English harbor which is for the most part inhabited by Ship Carpenters and other artists in shipping. It is strange that this Island & the Saints are so perfectly destitute of fresh water whilst those on each side & at a small distance are so abundantly supplied with the best.

On my landing on this Island and arrival in the town of St. Johns, I found the American fleet had been there & again departed, so that I had thrown myself out of pay & was landed in an Island in which I was an entire stranger, alike, "Unknowing & unknown." No one I presume will envy me my situation at this period which I learnt I should not be able to escape out of it for several months or during the hurricane season of which this was about the commencement, but I still had resourses! I calculated I could make my money hold out, but I should have nothing left for my passage to the United States, but I considered this to be an English Island & the people wrote & spoke my own language & I must do something to at least defray my expenses if not more. The next consideration was—What should that be? I concluded in a town like St. Johns, there must be medical men & some one of them may want an assistant & if I should fail in this, I would next go amongst the merchants, where I may get some employ with my pen, & if I should fail in this also, I will go to the Wharf & roll Barrels. I may even at this pay my expenses & have what money I possess'd without diminution which was all I cared for[.] These preliminaries being settled in my own mind, I became weary & slept well through the succeeding night & in the morning proceeded agreeably to my plan & soon found "Mr. Muir" (a North Britton) & a practitioner, but he was not in want of such a Character as I was: Conceive me, at the period in a British staff uniform of a flaming red! But he politely informed me of another gentleman in the town of the name of "Crow" who did want such a person being lately deprived of a valuable young man by death of the prevailing disease of the climate (bilious). I immediately made my way to this gentleman, who I found was as ready to receive me, as I was him. I presented him my credentials & told him my situation honestly & unvarnished, that I was entirely a stranger & had no one to say who, or what I was, therefore I should expect no trust, till I had proved it; that I wished merely to clear my oeconomical expenses, as I wished to get out of the Islands. There

never was a poor wretch that had a much more contemptible opinion of himself than I had at this period! O! what a virtue is humility, this to me proved it beyond controversy. When I was answered by my Employer in this way, Ah! Sir, you are of much more consequence here than you have yourself any conception of! I have lately lost a young man of your description for whose services I have been much distress'd & think myself fortunate in soon meeting with another, which is a circumstance may not again occur in seven years of a medical assistant regularly and fully educated. I will give you much more than you would have any conception of requesting & instantly offered me unasked such terms, as the half would have abundantly satisfied me, but I must engage for twelve months! This was the difficulty I wished to escape but these were his terms which I may take or leave. They were what he gave the last young man whom he had buried. The generous magnanimity of the man, to an entire stranger, so completely in his power, settled my determination to close with him on his own terms which I did accordingly & immediately set in to my duties, which was for the most part plantation practice divided into three routes called " The Popes Head," " The Body " & " the Windward," visiting one every day, so that each plantation was regularly visitted twice every week. He would ride one day & I stay at home to compound medicines: The next day I went out & he at home, and so on alternately to end of the chapter.

I continued in this situation about two months with perfect satisfaction to my employer, and to myself, when an unfortunate circumstance occur'd, which rather jarr'd the harmony of our association & set me at liberty just in right time for my departure from the islands. One day when I was at home very actively employed in the office with my old negroe man to assist, which was a little space from the dwelling, Dr. Crow's wife, a West India native & daughter of the late practitioner, came to see me & requested of me, " If there were any messages for Mr. Crow?" I answered there were & I would be very careful to present them to him as soon as he arrived: when she turned upon her heel in all the haughtiness of india pride & march'd stately off as she had come, her silks rustling like a high wind. I had no conception that I had done any mischief or committed any error. In the evening he returned & was informed that I had refused to deliver to her the messages. He came to me swelling with rage & told me I had insulted his wife, & *we must part*, which he repeated. I told him, it was well, but that I could not understand him. I possess'd no disposition to insult any female much less his wife & if I had unfortunately done so, it was quite unintentional & that I was ready to make any reasonable apology in my power, but that I thought either he had been imposed upon, or that he imposed upon me. Now Sir, explain! when he told me I refused to deliver the messages to Mrs. Crow! " As this is your accusation the explication now reverts to me, in the first place I deny that she ever ask'd me for the messages, but only, ' if there were any messages? ' or I would have cheerfully given them to her. This being the case I could not possibly have refused what I was not ask'd for. You

never instructed me that I should thus dispose of them & I never for once conceived that medical messages belong'd to a woman! However, if it is your mode of procedure I shall observe it in future." This abated the storm & it blew over, as a thing forgotten, but I kept my determination to myself, viz., that he had broke our contract & that I was at liberty & that I would profit by it as soon as circumstances suited my purpose so to do.

From this period I kept a strict lookout upon the wharf & during this interval a more strict attention to the duties of my profession, and in a few weeks I descried a large old brig with the stripes flying upon her. I got a boat & push'd directly on board. Captain Card, the master on Board, he [*sic*] observed me in my red coat & was apprehensive. I was some custom house officer coming to overhaul him; however, when I got on board & declared my intentions of taking a passage with him to the United States, he was glad to find the thing was no worse, when the following dialogue took place between us—

O. Where are you from?
A. From Alexandria, Virginia.
Q. What was your cargo?
A. White Oak Staves.
Q. Where are you bound?
A. To Norfolk, Virginia.
Q. What is your return cargo?
A. Ballast.
Q. What is your price to take me?
A. Forty dollars.—Agreed!
Q. When do you expect to sail?
A. In about ten days.

These preliminaries being settled, I return'd again to my duties & in about three days before sailing I informed my employer of my procedure when he reminded me of our contract for a year. I told him I was sensible of it & would have fulfil'd it, however disagreeable to my self, but it had been broken on his part. . . . He desired me " to think no more of it, it was satisfactorily explained and done away " and he would be very much distress'd for my services. I knew this as well as he did & told him I had engaged my passage & my baggage & provisions were on board. . . . He was an honorable man and a gentleman. When he found all his intreaties to be unavailable, he took me into his house, calculated the time I had been with him of about three months and paid me (at the conditions he had agreed to) every cent that was my due. I took a respectful farewell of him and his *family* & commenced my voyage in the latter end of November, 1797, & left the Island of Antigua with more money in my possession than I had when I first came to it. If the hand of Providence is not acknowledged in this adventure, it can only be by the confirmed infidel!

The memory of this gentleman will always be cherished by me with pleasure.

Our Voyage to the United States was of about twelve days, having favorable winds all the way, in which nothing very remarkable occurred, except a vessel we met with near this coast which we were apprehensive was a french privateer, however, it proved of the United States outward bound and run foul of us in which it suffered some damages: gave us a few curses as he left us and passed on his way.

There was no one to apprehend any thing from this vessel but myself, for had it been a french privateer and they had discovered me to be English, I may have yet visited Guadeloupe to my sorrow. A few days after having passed this vessel we made the land of this continent & soon after were assailed by the vessels of the Pilots running or sailing about in every direction & having a pilot on board, we pursued our course to the capes of Virginia, which we soon made and pass'd & came into Hampton roads where our vessel was run aground. There lay here numerous vessels of different descriptions & amongst the rest a british frigate called " The Topaz," a long black snake of a vessel of french build. She sent out her boat & took us on board the frigate where I slept two nights associated with the officers of the gun room & was treated very politely after which I proceeded to the town of Norfolk, in Virginia, it being now near the close of the year 1797 & intensely cold, which I presume was more severe to me having just come from the Tropics. The Chesapeake Bay was frozen up so that no packet would presume to attempt a passage to Baltimore and I was necessarilly detained there about ten days, in which period occur'd the Christmas hollidays.

The town of Norfolk is low, dirty, and if that was a Specimen of an American City, I took the prospect as a very poor one as it is much inferior to some I had been in in the West India Islands, without a comparison with Europe; however, I may expect fairer prospects in Baltimore. I was not disappointed. The oysters I got there exceeded all I ever tasted before or afterwards and the display of Turkeys for the Christmas excelled my most Sanguine conceptions. They came in cartbody loads picked & ready for the spit. The wood fires burning upon the Hearths was to me a new scene, but I did not like them so well as the coal fires of Europe in raised Grates, but use has since reconciled them & even exalted them to my preference.

After this in the commencement of the New Year 1798 a packet schooner dared to proceed in which I took passage to pay ten dollars to Baltimore. We were several days in working up the Bay in a zigzag way wherever we could discover an opening in the Ice, suffering much from anxiety & from cold. We had a full view of the rivers of the Potomac & the Patuxent &c, and at last we were put on shore two miles short of Annapolis, to find our way onward in the best way we could, for the packet could go no higher up though we paid to Baltimore. There was in company an elderly gentleman who came in another vessel from the west indies of the name of " Rainey," also Paul Hartman, & Joe Jacobs, his associate, both Jews, and William Harris, a carpenter & myself, all for Baltimore. We hired an Ox-Cart on which we placed our Baggage walking by its side and thus like a set of strolling gypsies we entered the

metropolis of Maryland & put up at Wests', at the sign of the Annapolis Packet. Here was a large company assembled, for the Assembly was in Session & old Cockey Dye,[6] with his Blackman Friday, was a conspicious character and paid particular attention to me, as he soon found I was an Englishman but lately from there & if ever I saw him in Baltimore I would not omit making myself known to him, he being (as I was informed) in favor of English politics, little suspecting than [then] of the republican blood of "Wilkes & Liberty" circulated in my veins;[7] however, I never saw him afterwards.

I visited the State house & saw the Assembly in Session where old Long Bob Long[8] was upon the carpet with a case that had stood about sixty years upon the tapis, and the Orator observed "It deserved some respect if it was only for its antiquity." I spent two nights in this city, saw most things worth seeing, when I proceeded on the public stage to Baltimore, where after a wet & disagreeable journey, I arrived safe at the Indian Queen Tavern, kept by William Evans, after which I soon found my only brother, the late John Brevitt,[9] who came to this country nearly twenty years before, in the time of the Revolutionary struggle for Independence which it happily obtained, when I was but a small boy of about ten years of age, not having seen him since I was nine years and six months old, so that we could not have had any possible recollection of each other.

Joseph Brevitt

12/23/1829

[6] Thomas Cockey Deye, a resident of Baltimore County, was a member of the Lower House as early as 1761, and frequently thereafter. He also served in the Convention of 1776 which framed the State Constitution and after the Revolution was chosen Speaker of the House. He died May 7, 1807.

[7] John Wilkes, English political reformer, championed a program of parliamentary reform, fought to safeguard individual liberty against ministerial autocracy, and became an outspoken defender of colonial rights during the American Revolution. The writer's relationship to Wilkes has been mentioned in the introduction.

[8] Not yet identified.

[9] John Brevitt served as lieutenant in the First Maryland Regiment from 1780. He married shortly afterward Mary Swope. His business is given in the directories as a "tobacco manufactory." He died July 24, 1824, at the age of 64. Dr. Joseph Brevitt died April 15, 1839.

"HAMPTON," BALTIMORE COUNTY, MARYLAND

By John H. Scarff

" Hampton," for more than a century and a half the home of the Ridgely Family, this year passes to the Nation. The Avalon Trust, founded by Mrs. Ailsa Mellon Bruce, has purchased the house and some forty acres of land around it. With funds for its rehabilitation and for the acquisition of a part of the original furniture, it has been given to the Federal Government. Mr. and Mrs. John Ridgely, the former owners, have generously presented the pictures now hanging there and almost all the remaining family portraits. " Hampton " in the future will be administered as a Museum Building by the Department of the Interior through the National Park Service, with The Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities acting as Custodian. It is expected that during the spring of 1949 it will be opened to the public.

The first Ridgely of the Hampton line to immigrate to Maryland (it is thought from Lincolnshire)[1] was Robert. He was an attorney-at-law and lived on St. Inigo's Creek in St. Mary's County where he died in 1681. Among his sons was the first of the many Ridgelys named Charles. He is known as the " Planter " and it is recorded that he died in Anne Arundel County in 1705. It was during the time of *his* son, Charles,[2] that the family moved to Baltimore County, first to a location on a cove of the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River above Whetstone Point, known as " Ridgely's Hollow ";[3] thence eventually to what is now " Hampton."

[1] The name which he gave to one of the several extensive tracts of land, which he took up, seems to indicate a Lincolnshire origin, but the family arms are said to imply some other county as the English home of the family.

[2] Colonel Charles Ridgely (d. 1772).

[3] Through his marriage with Rachel Howard, daughter of John Howard, Jr.,

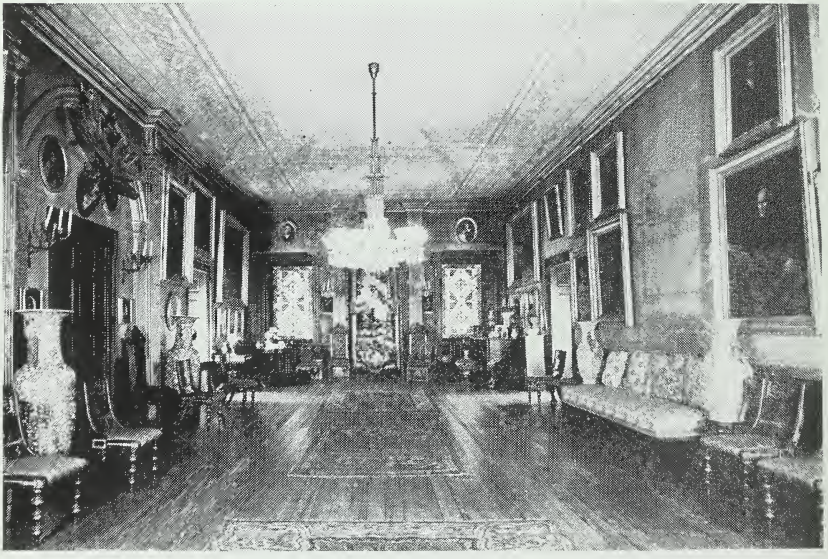
CHARLES RIDGELY, THE BUILDER, 1733-1790
By John Hesselius

Courtesy of Frick Art Reference Library

MRS. CHARLES RIDGELY (REBECCA DORSEY) 1739-1812
By John Hesselius

Courtesy of Frick Art Reference Library

Drawing Room, "Hampton"
Photo 1948 by National Park Service



Hall, "Hampton," Looking South
Photo 1948 by National Park Service

On the 28th of September, 1695, a tract of land consisting of 1500 acres in Baltimore County was taken up by Col. Henry Darnall, a member of Lord Baltimore's Council.[4] This land was considerably north of tidewater, above the edge of the settlements, in what was then the wilderness. He called it " Northampton." In 1695 Col Darnall's daughter Anne married Clement Hill, who the following year was appointed surveyor-general of the Western Shore. Upon the death of Henry Darnall in 1711 " Northampton " descended to the Hills, and on the 2nd of April, 1745, Anne Hill of Prince George's County, widow, together with her sons Clement and Henry, conveyed the entire tract of 1500 acres to Charles Ridgely of Baltimore County, " Merchant," for a consideration of six hundred pounds sterling.[5] That was the beginning of " Hampton," the patrimonial estate of the Ridgely family.

The Hampton Mansion stands near the center of the four sided piece of land that was " Northampton." Two adjoining pieces also came into possession of the Ridgelys, namely: " Hampton Court " [6] and " Oakhampton," and by 1750 Charles Ridgely had taken up or purchased altogether 26 parcels in Baltimore County, aggregating over 7,000 acres. These parcels were not all contiguous, and they included areas as distant as the present Roland Park, Guilford and Blythewood [7] and a tract " Huntington " that extended from University Parkway as far south as Lafayette Avenue at Charles Street and gave its name to Huntington Avenue.

Charles Ridgely acquired " Howard's Timber Neck," which was taken up by her grandfather Howard in 1667. Charles Ridgely resurveyed it and called it " Ridgely's Delight." This plantation lay on Ridgely's Cove or Hollow, between " Mount Clare " and " Lunn's Lot," extending, irregularly, north to Mulberry Street, east to Hanover, and including Columbia Avenue (now known as Washington Boulevard).

[4] Rent Roll, Baltimore County, Calvert Paper 883 f. 205.

[5] Land Records of Baltimore County, Liber T. B. No. D., f. 94.

[6] " Hampton Court " was acquired in 1746. (Land Records of Baltimore County, Liber T. D. No. E, f. 166).

[7] In one contiguous estate of twelve hundred acres were: " Ridgely's Whim," which included all of the present " Blythewood " and all of Roland Park east of Roland Avenue, and " Job's Addition," which embraced the whole of " Homeland." Parcels of this property remained in the hands of descendants of Charles Ridgely until well within the second half of the past century. Descendants, the Fenwicks, were buried in the family burying ground at " Woodlawn," now a part of Roland Park. Other descendants, the McCormicks, lived at " Hebron " until the 1860's. This property, part of " Ridgely's Whim," is now the site of Saint Mary's Catholic Orphan Asylum.

" Northampton," when it was laid out was a part of the wilderness, although several tracts had been taken up on the Great Falls of the Gunpowder River in the neighborhood as early as 1683.[8] There is every reason to believe that settlements did not begin to advance into the back country or forests above the heads of the tidal estuaries in Baltimore County before 1699.[9] Before that time it was inhabited by a few squatters or hunters, and it would seem that one of these was a man named Andrew Peterson.[10] Among the land papers of Barrister Carroll of " Mt. Clare " is a book of copies of old land certificates, including that of " Northampton," in which is mentioned a stream emptying into the Great Falls of Gunpowder River called " Andrew Peterson's Run." [11] Later, it was known simply as Peterson's Run, and, still later, as Long Quarter Branch. Its lower reaches are today covered by the waters of Loch Raven. Its principal source is on the present Goucher College property, formerly known as " Epsom," which is largely a part of " Northhampton." In 1746, when Charles Ridgely had a land commission determine the bounds of " Northhampton," which he had purchased the year before, several deponents testified that it was otherwise known as " Peterson's." [12]

It is probable that when this estate was in the possession of Henry Darnall and later of the Hills, many of its acres were cleared and put under cultivation and already useful buildings and other appurtenances of what was then called a " quarter " existed. The price paid would indicate this. The old " Farm House " occupied by Charles Ridgely during the building of the Mansion

[8] " Saint Denis " and " Sergents Hall," each 500 acres, which were later (1732) resurveyed into one tract for Daniel Dulany, and called " Dulany's Park."

[9] This statement is made on the authority of Mr. William B. Marye, who has made a special study of the subject.

[10] He died about 1692, in which year an inventory of his small estate is entered in the court proceedings of Baltmore County, March Court. Among his few belongings were several which might properly have belonged to a hunter and backwoodsman, namely, seven raw deer skins; one gun; a pair of bullet moulds, and a horse " in the woods dubious to be got."

[11] This manuscript is endorsed " 1766 " and is described as a " Collection of Land Certificates chiefly in Baltimore & Anne Arundel Counties To which is added a List of Postponed certificates from the year 1733 to 1734." Also entered therein is Captain Richard Smith's certificate for " The Valley of Jehosophat," dated September 2, 1695 (and therefore earlier than " Northampton ") which calls for " Andrew Peterson's branch." This land includes the southern part of Dulany's Valley.

[12] Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 140 *et seq.*

was, in all likelihood, the overseer's house on the " quarter." As tobacco was raised on it in these days, it is more correct to speak of it as a " plantation " and not a " farm." [13]

The next important date in the long history of " Hampton " is November 1st, 1760, for on that day " Charles Ridgely of Baltimore County, Merchant," conveyed to his son Charles, the Younger, styled " Mariner," some 2000 acres of land, consisting of part of " Northampton," " Hampton Court," " Oakhampton " and " Stone's Adventure," lying together in one tract.[14] This Charles, the " Mariner," was the builder of the Hampton Mansion.

That same year Col. Charles Ridgely (otherwise styled " Senior " or " Merchant ") got possession of 100 acres lying north of " Northhampton " on Peterson's Run for the purpose of erecting thereon an iron works to be called " Northhampton Works." [15] The company was organized October 8, 1761, and it consisted of Charles Ridgely, his sons John and Charles.[16] John died in 1771 surviving by one year his infant son John. These iron works were to become a most important possession of the Ridgelys, for in 1797, when General Ridgely was visited at " Hampton " by Francis Parkinson, the historian, he recorded that General Ridgely " has very extensive iron works.[17] . . . He is a very genteel man and is said to keep the best table in America." Parkinson further said that the General bred race horses and had a well cultivated farm (the cultivation of tobacco had given place by that time to

[13] Late in the 1760's or early in the 1770's the landowners of Baltimore County gave up the planting of tobacco and began the cultivation of wheat and corn.

[14] Land Records of Baltimore County, Liber B., No. H, f. 420.

[15] A copy of his writ of ad quod damnum will be found in the above mentioned " Collection of Land Certificates," which belonged to Barrister Carroll. It is dated February 28, 1760. The 100 acres so condemned was part of " Refuge " and lay on Pot Spring Run (a branch of Peterson's Run or Long Quarter Branch).

[16] The contract is mentioned in a deed from Colonel Charles Ridgely's executors to Charles Ridgely, Jr., executed in the year 1772, shortly after the death of the former, and conveying to the grantee a one-third interest in the Northampton works and lands. (Land Records of Baltimore County, Liber A. L. No. D, f. 495 *et seq.*)

[17] In addition to his interest in the Northampton furnace, Charles Carnan Ridgely owned the forges long known as Ridgely's Forges, which stood on the west side of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, near the (old) Philadelphia Road, and had formerly been known as the Nottingham Iron Works. These works, together with more than five thousand acres of land, were purchased by General Ridgely, in 1796, from Alexander Hanson, Trustee for the Sale of Confiscated British Property. (Land Records of Baltimore County, Liber W. G. No. H. W., f. 642 *et seq.*) Out of this relatively vast tract of land, which was mostly in woods and devoted to charcoal burning, was carved the White Marsh Estate, 1700 acres, which Governor Ridgely left to his son, David Latimer Ridgely, and which remained intact and in the possession of the latter's descendants until a little more than a decade ago.

corn and wheat) " better than most others in the country, the expense of which was largely paid for by the iron works," for " the cultivation of one's own land would make any man poor." Another item of interest he recorded at this time was that the roads from " Hampton " to Baltimore were so bad " that it is a day's work in winter for a team." [18]

Col. Charles Ridgely died in 1772, and his will ratified the deed of gift of the year 1760 of 2000 acres to his son, and to his grandson John Robert Holliday he left that portion of " Northampton " not already deeded to his son Charles.[19] This bequest was the beginning of the estate " Epsom " [20] lying adjoining and very close, south of the Hampton Mansion. The line between was first established by this deed of gift of 1760.

Charles Ridgely, the Builder, died in 1790, but six months after the completion of the house. In his will dated 7 April, 1787,[21] he makes the following bequest to his wife who was Rebecca, daughter of Caleb Dorsey of " Belmont ": " I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife, Rebecca Ridgely, during her natural Life, the Dwelling wherein I now reside together with eight acres of Land thereto adjoining for a garden with as many outhouses as she may think necessary for her convenience or if she should prefer the new house I am now building, I leave it at her option to Choose the same." He directs his nephew (for he had no children), Charles Ridgely Carnan, to provide a stable for his said wife, large enough for six horses and cows. To his wife he left his silver plate for life. To his nephew, Charles Ridgely Carnan, he left divers lands, including all the land which his father gave him by indenture dated 1 November 1760, " whereon I now reside " except the use of the dwelling house and eight acres reserved for his wife, the whole consisting of " Northhampton " and divers adjacent tracts and his interest in the Northampton Furnance which he had originally inherited from his father. A tax list of Back and Middle River Upper Hundreds, Baltimore County, of 1798 credits Charles Ridgely " of Hampton "

[18] *A Tour in America*, by Richard Parkinson (London, 1805), I, 73 *et seq.*

[19] Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 3, f. 201. The will is dated April 1, 1772.

[20] John Robert Holliday, the son of Robert Holliday, for whom Holliday Street in Baltimore was named, died in 1801. In his will he left " Epsom " and other lands to his son, Harry G. Holliday. In the last century " Epsom " was the property of a branch of the Chew family. The will of J. R. Holliday is recorded in Lber 6, at folio 270.

[21] Baltimore County Wills, Liber 6, f. 450.

(*sic*) with 92 slaves and scattered tracts of land.[22] It is impossible to say how many acres were then a part of " Hampton " proper. The mansion is therein described: " One stone dwelling house, 2 stories, 56 by 80 feet, two wings to do. 23 by 25 feet each." On Griffith's Map of Maryland, 1794, we see the words " Hampton Hall " on the site of the mansion, and, a short distance north of it on Peterson's Run, a sign indicating an iron furnace, noted as " Northampton." The site of the old furnace is now under the waters of Loch Raven.

Charles Ridgely Carnan, who had so handsomely benefited by the will of his uncle, by act of the State Legislature in 1790, to conform to a condition therein imposed, changed his name to Charles Carnan Ridgely, and assumed the Ridgely arms. He was usually known as General Ridgely and from 1816 to 1819 he was Governor of Maryland. Strangely enough he married the youngest sister, Priscilla, of his uncle's wife and all the later Ridgelys of Hampton are descended from them. Their eldest son Charles, born August 26, 1783, who died before his father, had one son who died less than three months after he was born. The second son of Charles and Priscilla, John, inherited. He was the first child born at " Hampton " January 9, 1790. The line of inheritance of " Hampton " from the Builder is:

Charles Ridgely	(1733-1790)	Married	1760	Rebecca Dorsey (1739-1812)
Charles Ridgely Carnan	(1772-1828)	"	1782	Priscilla Dorsey (1762-1814)
(Charles)	(1783-1819)	"	1809	Maria Campbell (178 -1853)
(John)	(1819-1820)			
John Ridgely Carnan	(1790-1867)	"	1812	Prudence Gough Carroll (1795-1822)
		"	1828	Eliza Ridgely (1803-1867)
Charles Ridgely	(1830-1872)	"	1851	Margaretta Sophia Howard (1824-1904)
John Ridgely	(1851-1938)	"	1873	Helen Stewart (1854-1929)
John Ridgely	(1882-)	"	1907	Louise Humrichouse (1883-1934)
		"	1940	Jane Rodney

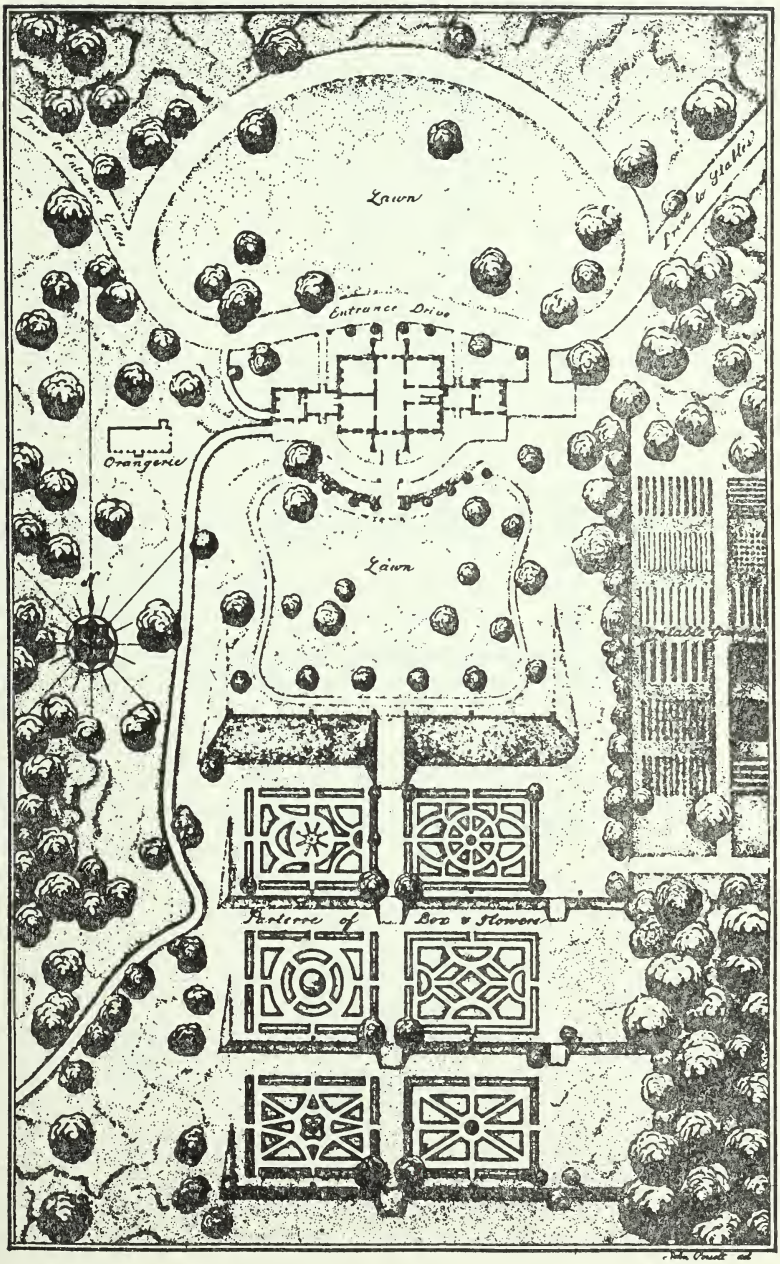
The building of the mansion was commenced by Charles in 1783 while he and Rebecca still dwelt in the " Farm House." The diary of Rebecca contains under date of December 8, 1788:

[22] This tax list may be seen at the Maryland Historical Society. According to it, Charles Ridgely's land holdings in that hundred amounted to something over 3500 acres, exclusive of his interest in the furnace lands. Of these 3500 acres not less than two thousand acres were included in " Hampton." At the same time he owned more than five thousand acres at the Nottingham Forges (Ridgely's Forges). His executors divided more than 2500 acres in and about Dulany's Valley among his heirs. It is safe to say that he died possessed of more than ten thousand acres in Baltimore County alone.

" Came to the Large New Building, found a desire in my heart to be more Devoted to the Lord, than I had ever Shown myself to the world to be. Went to prayers with the family." The house was not completely furnished when, on January 9th, 1790, the son of Charles Ridgely Carnan was born there, and " the child was born in the nursery." Six months later Charles the Builder died. Rebecca did not wish to live in the " Farm House " surrounded by its eight acres bequeathed her in the will of her husband and neither did she live in the Large New Building in which her husband had died. She accepted " Auburn " near by from her nephew and brother-in-law and lived there till she died in 1812. The nephew very soon after the death of his uncle began the construction of the gardens at " Hampton."

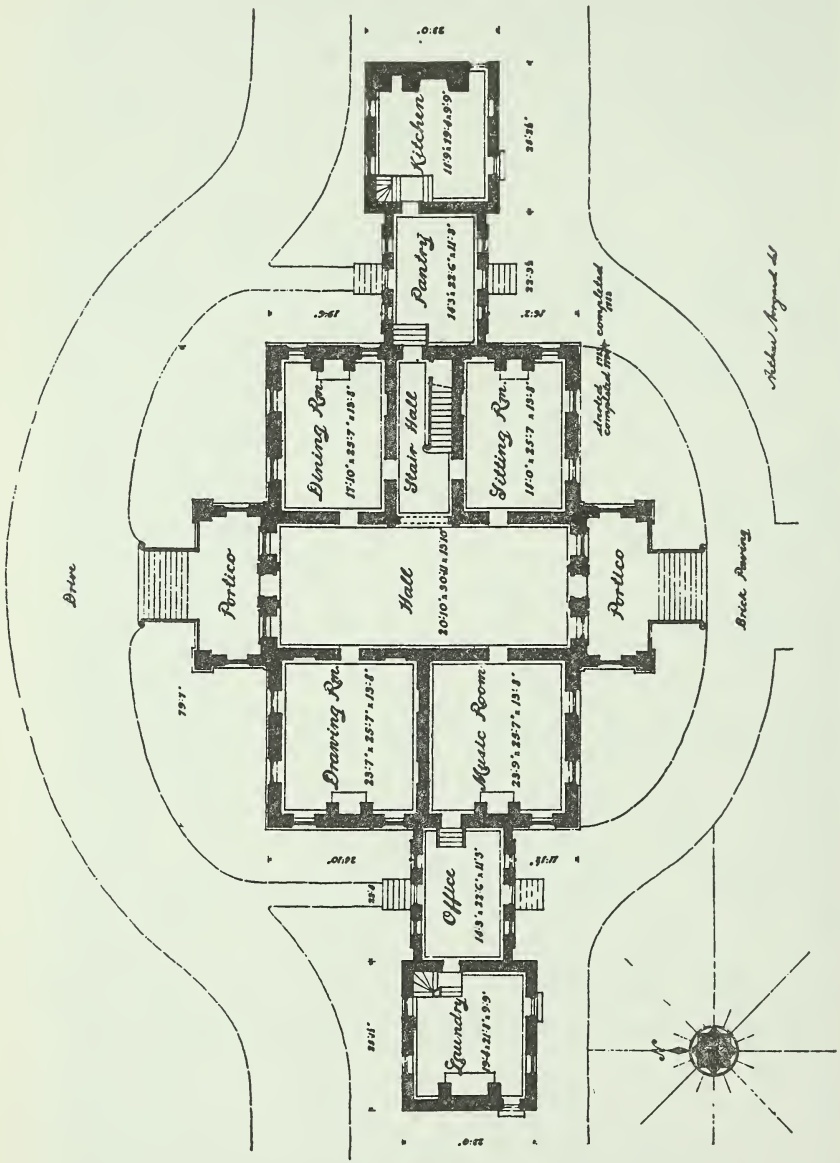
It is to be regretted that we have no inventory of the library of Charles, the Builder. Architects were rare in those days and the designs of fine houses were usually taken from books in the libraries of the owners, and carried out by master builders. Family papers only record the name of the carpenter, one Jehu Howell, who received the sum of £3482, s 13, d 6½, no inconsiderable sum, for the carpentry and woodwork of the house. It is strange that accounts are meticuously kept for this amount but there is no record that would complete the costs. It is recorded that Jehu Howell resided in one of the wings as early as 1784.

One is tempted to speculate on what kind of a man this Charles the Builder was. His portrait by John Hesselius that hangs in the Dining Room shows a low forehead, a long acquisitive nose, and the lower part of a face and a figure of a man accustomed to good living. It would seem likely that he was not much in sympathy with his wife's conversion to Methodism, nor her preoccupation, as evidenced by her diary, with the state of her soul. The building period coincided with that which produced the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, but family tradition has it that he was neither pleased with the change to a Republican Government nor, it may be supposed, with those laboring to form it. His success with his iron works, the size of his house and the extent of his land holdings, all would place him as a prototype of the successful business man who from the circumstances of his epoch wins great personal advantage and helps to create the great economic fabric of the nation.



PLAN OF "HAMPTON"
Measured and Drawn for *House and Garden*, January, 1903
By Laurence Hall Fowler, F. A. I. A.

From Reproduction in *Great Georgian Houses of America*, Volume I (1933)



First Floor Plan of Hampton Mansion (over all length 175 feet)
From *Great Georgian Houses of America*, Volume I (1933)

" Hampton " is one of the largest of the early houses of Maryland and one of the few stuccoed ones, but its design is not altogether successful. The spacing of the columns of the porticoes is unpleasantly wide and the entablature, in scale with the porticoes, is too large even when reduced, as it passes over the windows. This not uncommon difficulty can be met in two ways as nearby houses illustrate. At " Homewood " and at " Whitehall " both the architrave and frieze are omitted over the windows. This allows a pleasant domestic scale. At the " Executive Mansion " in Washington the order is repeated between the windows and at the corners of the building. Thus the windows occur in a panel formed by the order which carries across the entire facade. This treatment is the more monumental. At " Hampton " there is also too great a discrepancy of scale between the main house and the wings. However, the great size and spread of the house is magnificent, and the tall cupola [23] and chimneys, the large decorated dormers and the finials above the pediments and at the corners of the roof produce an extremely animated sky line.

No change has been made in the house since its completion except that colored glass has replaced the clear glass of the original sash in the halls, and in 1867 the north portico steps were replaced by the present marble ones designed by E. G. Lind, an architect of Baltimore.

The plan was surely conceived for large entertaining. The wide central hall is one of the distinguishing features of the house. Its openness is delightful both for summer living and for entertaining a number of people. A neighbor in the time of the General describes an occasion when fifty-one persons sat down to dinner in the great hall and " every one had plenty of room." [24] One suspects that the architectural screen that divided the hall from the stairway is a device for conserving heat in the rooms used for family living during winter months. It was thus possible to contract living to the two rooms flanking the stair hall. On the second floor the direction of the communicating central hall is reversed and the spaces over the two entrances are taken

[23] Annie Leakin Sioussat in her book *Old Baltimore* (New York, 1931), opposite p. 187, shows a water color of a " Ridgely House at North Point," which has an unusually tall cupola. The resemblance to the cupola at " Hampton " might be more than a coincidence.

[24] Diary of Henry Thompson of " Clifton," MS in possession of Maryland Historical Society.

by two bed rooms. The third floor, in the roof, is divided into ten small rooms and from the hall a circular stair rises to the cupola. No decorative plaster work such as we see in other houses of Maryland and Virginia exists. The more important rooms are decorated with simple dentilled cornices and the overmantels and doorways by regulation entablatures of excellent proportions.

The southern portico overlooks the extensive gardens laid out by the General about 1800. The lawn is decorated by fine trees and bordered by ancient cedars. Thence a grass ramp extends to the next lower level which is taken up by box gardens on each side of the main axis. The two lower levels are similarly laid out and the principal vista ends with a group of monumental spruce. To the west are the green houses and the gardener's cottage. The ruins of the old orangery are quite close to the main house. To the east behind an arbor-vitae hedge is the kitchen garden and farther off, enclosed by a brick wall, is the family burial ground. The gardens are conceived in excellent harmony with the house, and their specimen trees, especially in the spring, are as fine as any that can be seen in the State.

Today, two centuries and three years after the first Ridgely acquired the Hampton estate, the mansion still sits nobly in the center of its spreading grounds and the cupola rises proudly above the thickening trees. The centuries have left their mark, however, for some of the trees are bent and broken. Others have fallen and their substance already merges with the garden soil. The paths need attention and the box is partly missing and uncared for. Only dauntless jonquils are blooming. The family graves are at the end of a path hard to follow. Their monuments are overgrown with honeysuckle and ivy.

The house, like so many similar ones unable to adjust to changing times, now lacks the luster of the days of its prime. Fabrics and paints are faded and worn. The great hall no longer resounds to half a hundred lusty guests as it did when the General entertained his farmer neighbors. Much of the interior furnishing remains but some absences are notable. The portrait of the General's daughter Eliza,—the " Lady with the Harp "—together with the General's own, both by Sully, are in the National Gallery in Washington. Some of the old furniture has been replaced by changing tastes and some is scattered by inheritance and by gift.

The rooms echo no more to the laughter of children nor to the gaiety of young people. Their silences, for the solitary guest, are broken by the tinkle of the chandeliers to the tread of feet above. The sounds of cultivation never come in the open windows for the surrounding fields are gone, replaced by the tide of an advancing city. " Hampton," as a family estate, has succumbed to modern times. It will, fortunately for posterity, by reason of its purchase by the Avalon Trust, remain as an unique evidence of the taste of one family, that continuously since the nation was founded, maintained occupancy and there centered its hopes and affections. It now approaches the measureless uncertainties of the future, like some river that has fulfilled its function and hesitates at a new and slower phase, before it flows placidly to the open sea.[25]

[25] The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. W. B. Marye who supplied him with information from the land records which he would not otherwise have had.

TRIADELPHIA: FORGOTTEN MARYLAND TOWN

By Esther B. Stabler

To the inhabitants of the Sandy Spring section of Maryland who are familiar with the woods and meadow lands along the winding Patuxent river, the sheet of blue water now covering the valley from Brinklow to Triadelphia seems a magic lake. Formed by an impounding dam built in 1941 by the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, it covers an area some six miles in extent, just north of Brookeville, and serves in part as the boundary between Montgomery and Howard counties. Beneath the placid surface of the water, however, lie the foundations of a once prosperous industrial community founded by three brothers-in-law, Isaac Briggs, Thomas Moore, and Caleb Bentley, and named in deference to their family connection and their Quaker faith "Triadelphia." The hum of the mill wheels they erected early in the nineteenth century have been forgotten; the Triadelphia bell is still; but to the local historian the memories of six- and eight-horse teams laboring over corduroy roadbeds, hauling cotton from Triadelphia to Baltimore, vie for interest with the wild ducks and ospreys that now make Triadelphia their home.

Indeed, the settlement of this area and the founding of this community, make a fascinating story even without the enchantment now afforded by its present estate. In colonial times the Patuxent river, navigable as far as Laurel, provided access to the district from the sea and in time provided equivalent access to deep water for the tobacco raised in the area and transported to the warehouses at Laurel for trans-shipment. The trip down river was long, but the countryside was beautiful, attesting the eloquence of the river's Indian name—"Small Descending Waters." [1]

[1] Still in the possession of descendants in Sandy Spring are ancient deeds belonging to James Brooke of "Charles Forest." There are several references to Snowden's River" apparently a local name for the Patuxent once used in this region.

Along its banks members of the Snowden family, professing adherence to the Society of Friends, obtained extensive grants of land and created a Quaker outpost in predominantly Catholic Tidewater Maryland. Here Deborah Snowden and her husband, James Brooke, travelled by horseback through unbroken forests, following Indian trails until they came to the "Charlie Forest" tract where, in 1728, they built the first house in this region, a dwelling made of logs. Here their son, Roger Brooke IV, of "Brooke Grove," married Mary Matthews of Monocacy and became the father of ten children, seven of whom lived to become the ancestors of most of the inhabitants of the Sandy Spring neighborhood.[2] In 1699, picturesque Thomas Brown, "the Patuxent Ranger," explored and surveyed for Richard Snowden the uninhabited forests along the river almost as far as the future site of Triadelphia.

Although more than a century was to pass before the town itself was founded in 1809, the influence of the Snowdens and the Brookes was nevertheless an important factor in its early history. All of Triadelphia's three founders, Briggs, Moore, and Bentley, married daughters of Roger Brooke IV towards the close of the eighteenth century; all three, being Quakers, participated in the religious life that the Snowdens had introduced to the region; and each of them, being enterprising men, determined to exploit the natural advantages of the area to the best of his abilities. Consequently they determined to build a factory town on the upper reaches of the Patuxent where a narrow valley, abounding in wild game, offered a suitable mill site.

With this purpose in mind the three brothers-in-law formed a company and purchased a 276-acre tract for thirty dollars an acre; and Isaac Briggs, together with Thomas Moore, laid out the town and built the nine houses, the sawmill, the general store, the grist mill, and the mill race that first constituted the community.[3]

Since the early history of this settlement is related so closely to the activities of its founders, the lives and personalities of these men merit brief consideration. Isaac Briggs, for example,

[2] "Brooke Grove," situated near Sandy Spring, was built in 1754 and was in possession of the Brooke family until 1941.

[3] This tract constituted a portion of "Benjamin's Lot," surveyed about 1725 for Benjamin Gaither. The mill race, built in a rocky gorge just below Cattail creek, was plainly discernible until 1940.

had a restless and adventurous spirit which from the beginning seemed too volatile to be contained within the limits of the town he had helped create.[4] Almost inevitably his wide knowledge and varied accomplishments carried him to broader fields. The son of Quaker parents, Samuel and Mary Ashton Briggs of Haverford, Pennsylvania, he had been graduated from Pennsylvania College (now the University of Pennsylvania) in 1790 and had migrated to Georgetown, District of Columbia, where he established a printing press. In 1794 he moved to Sandy Spring where he opened the first school in that vicinity, one of such excellence that pupils came from near and far,[5] and in 1797 he married Hannah Brooke.

For a time Isaac and his wife settled in the newly-founded community of Triadelphia. Indeed, Isaac was the only brother who actually took up residence there. Soon, however, he built a new home for his family in Sandy Spring, at a place later known as " Old Sharon " and now a part of the Slade School for boys. The bill for the digging of the foundation of this house, rendered in pounds, shilling, and pence, is at present among the papers of the late Francis D. Stabler, in possession of Mr. Harold B. Stabler of Washington, D. C., and carries the somewhat cryptic entry " for three days digging and disappintment."

Not content with being a printer, a teacher, and a business entrepreneur, Briggs had also acquired considerable skill as a civil engineer, and from time to time his talents were in demand in such widely separated areas as New York and Louisiana. Thomas Jefferson was acquainted with his capacities and procured federal employment for him, as the following letter to Governor William Charles Coles Claiborne of the Louisiana Territory attests:

I have appointed Isaac Briggs, Surveyor of the lands south of Tennessee. He is a Quaker; a sound Republican and of pure and unspotted character. In point of science, in astronomy, geometry and mathematics he stands in a line with Mr. Ellicott and second to no man in the United States. He set out yesterday for his destination and I recommend him to your particular patronage. The candor, modesty and simplicity of his manners cannot fail to gain your esteem. For the office of Surveyor, men of the

[4] For a biographical study of Isaac Briggs see the article by Ella Kent Barnard, " Isaac Briggs," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VII (1912), 409-419.

[5] William Farquhar, *Annals of Sandy Spring*, I, 276-277 (Baltimore: Cushings and Bailey, 1884).

first order of science in astronomy and mathematics are essentially necessary.[6]

This assignment, as it turned out, entailed more work than honor. Briggs's labors took him into the rivers and bayous of southern Louisiana where Indian, French, Spanish, and American interests had conflicting claims and where the luxuriance of subtropical vegetation made surveying both difficult and hazardous.[7] A short letter addressed to President Jefferson reveals some of his hardships but concludes with the assurance that even this "most fatigueing journey" would constitute a "rich reward" if it gave satisfaction to his friend, the President.[8]

In the years following the founding of Triadelphia Briggs engaged extensively in canal construction. As one of the five engineers of the Erie Canal, he was directly in charge of the section laid out between Rome and Utica, New York, and in 1819 accepted a position on the James River Canal then being built in Virginia. In the latter assignment he served as assistant to his brother-in-law, Thomas Moore, the chief engineer, until the latter's death in 1822, at which time Briggs himself became chief engineer and completed the work. It was also upon Moore's recommendation that Briggs engaged in his last major engineering enterprise—a series of surveys for the state of Virginia relative to canals along the Potomac river. Briggs and his assistants, Asa Moore and Joseph Bentley, became ill, however, and so they never completed the task. Soon after Briggs died at his home in Sandy Spring.[9]

Like Briggs, his brother-in-law, Thomas Moore was also a man of varied interests; consequently Triadelphia was merely one of many enterprises to him, soon to be supplanted by more enticing occupations. The son of an Irish Quaker who had come from Waterford, Ireland, to make his home in Loudoun county, Virginia, which he named "Waterford," Thomas left Virginia in 1794 and moved to Maryland. There he married Mary Brooke.[10] Assuming management of his wife's estate, he soon distinguished

[6] Quoted by Barnard, *op. cit.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.* In addition to the above-mentioned activities it is to be noted that Briggs was a member of the New York Philosophical Society. His portrait, painted by one of the Peales, was burned by fire in New York.
[10] *Baltimore Gazette*, 1886, in scrapbook of Benjamin Hallowell, in possession of author.

himself as a practical farmer. The land itself was poor when he took possession, of it, but before long Moore made it a model for other farmers in the area. From long distances, it is reported, men came to witness the deep plowing Moore was able to accomplish with a mammoth plow of his own invention, his fine stock of cattle in fields of red clover, his meadows of timothy, his fine fields of corn, and so on. Moreover, he supplemented his income by preparing articles on agricultural theory. His book, *The Great Error of Agriculture Exposed*, appeared in 1801.

In addition to his interest in agricultural progress, Moore also busied himself with invention; his major concern in this direction being with refrigeration. In 1803 he obtained a patent for an ice-box. A curious contrivance designed to keep butter cool while transporting it by horseback to Georgetown, this refrigerator consisted of a cedar tub eighteen to twenty inches deep in which was placed a tin box surrounded with lumps of ice. The outer covering of the tub was made of furry rabbit skins and coarse woolen cloth. Later a larger model for family use was designed which consisted of two cedar boxes insulated with pulverized charcoal and cooled by an ice-filled tin box fitted to the lid. Thomas Jefferson, some of the heads of governmental departments, and other citizens of the District of Columbia used these ice-boxes, but they found little favor with farmers generally since not one in a hundred had such a " useless " building as an ice house on his property.[11]

Various engineering jobs made even heavier inroads into Moore's time, both before and after the founding of Triadelphia. His work on the James River Canal has been mentioned earlier. In addition he was employed for a year, beginning in 1805, by the corporation of Georgetown to construct the causeway from Mason's Island (now Roosevelt Island) to the Virginia shore. For this work he was paid $24,000. Later he was retained by the federal government to lay out the great national road to the West. Prior to this, during the War of 1812, he had taken charge of the Union Manufacturing Company's works near Ellicott's Mills.[12]

It is easy to understand from a cursory survey of Moore's busy

[11] *Ibid.* The patent for Moore's refrigerator was signed in 1803 by President Jefferson and James Madison and for many years was in the attic of " Alloway," the home of one of his descendants near Sandy Spring. A few years ago both house and document were burned.

[12] *Baltimore Gazette*, clipping dated 1886. From Hallowell's scrap book.

career as cabinet maker, farmer, inventor, and engineer how small a part the Triadelphia enterprise played in his affairs.[13] The mills located there were at best a sideline that brought him little financial gain, yet for a time he devoted considerable effort towards the construction of the factories, the houses, and the mill race. Perhaps the community would have profited from his greater attention, coupled as it could have been with the similar talents exhibited by Isaac Briggs.

The third member of the Quaker trio who founded Triadelphia, Caleb Bentley, was the only brother-in-law to devote more than passing attention to its enterprises. The descendant of English Quakers who had migrated to Pennsylvania early in the seventeenth century, Caleb resembled the other founders of Triadelphia in that he too was adept in a variety of trades. He had, for example, been trained in clock-making and for a time was so engaged in York, Pennsylvania. About 1786, however, he moved to Leesburg, Virginia, where he formed a partnership with Mordecai Miller for the design and execution of silverware.[14] Some eight years later Bentley again moved, this time to Sandy Spring, where he met and married Sarah Brooke. The couple settled at "Brooke's Black Meadow." Sarah lived only a few years after her marriage, however, and died without issue. Caleb later married Maria Henrietta, a daughter of Mary Cowman and Samuel Thomas of "Pretty Prospect," Sandy Spring.[15] It was through these Maryland connections that Bentley became engaged in the Triadelphia enterprise, but it should be noted that he was also proprietor of the first store in Brookeville, and postmaster of the village.

Bentley was the largest contributor to the Triadelphia enterprise, if the investment of the three brothers-in-law be considered aside from later obligations acquired by the company.[16] Consequently he was chosen president of the Triadelphia Company at the annual salary of one thousand dollars, while Briggs was made superintendent of the mills themselves. Because of these facts, the mills were not infrequently referred to in common parlance as the "Bentley Company."

[13] Moore's home, "Retreat," is situated between Sandy Spring and Brookeville. Longwood School for boys now occupies the site.

[14] Examples of Bentley's work are still possessed by Bentley's descendants.

[15] "Pretty Prospect," built in 1745, is now known as "Norwood," while "Brooke's Black Meadow" is now owned by Mrs. John Janney.

[16] In 1814 the company was indebted to Bentley to the extent of $10,500.

Few descriptions of the actual operations of the company in its early years exist today. The best, although brief, is in the hand of Isaac Briggs and bears the dates 1812-13. He writes:

> Our force of water is amply sufficient for driving a grist mill of 2 pair of stones, a sawmill, and a cotton spinning mill of 5,000 spindles; and we have convenient room for all these mills. An adequate dam and race are already made. A grist mill of one pair of stones and a saw mill are now in complete operation. A cotton spinning mill is erected calculated for 1200 spindles in which we now employ 196 spindles, as already stated. . . . The profits of this grist mill and saw mill and the rents of houses, I suppose would be equal to the current expenses of our families.[17]

A second account, describing the period 1820-25, indicates continuing progress and implies a greater degree of prosperity. Its author, Charles Brooke, states in retrospect:

> At that time the factory, mill and store and farm were busy and a large tenantry could hear the hum of machinery from morning till night. The business was like clockwork in every branch, perfect system prevailing everywhere.[18]

Information about social life in the surrounding district, however, is fairly easy to obtain, especially for the period of the War of 1812. The Bentley house in Brookeville, for example, is particularly rich in historical associations, for during the British invasion of Maryland and Washington in 1814 it became, for twenty-four hours, the seat of the national government. On August 24 President Madison fled the capital city and ultimately took refuge under Bentley's hospitable roof. All night the village resounded with the clatter of horses' hooves as more and more exhausted refugees poured into the town. Mrs. Bentley, it is reported, sat at the head of her table throughout the night, while servants prepared one meal after another for her hungry guests. Every house in the village was filled to overflowing, and soldiers were encamped in the meadows.

While the President was endeavoring to catch up with the American army, Mrs. Madison was attempting to find refuge in Virginia. Writing to his wife about the debacle that had ensued,

[17] Copy in possession of Mr. Jack Bentley, of Sandy Spring, Md.

[18] C. I. B. Brane(?), "Triadelphia," published in the (Dayton, Ohio) *Religious Telescope*, August 23, 1911. In 1850, it should be noted, Brane, with the aid of Alexander Brown, prepared from memory the only map of Triadelphia known to exist. In all likelihood it contains many errors. Copy loaned the writer through courtesy of Mrs. O. Harvey, of Olney.

Asa Moore reported that the " Queen Lady Madison " had been observed on the Virginia side of the river above the chain bridge in a convoy of some two hundred baggage wagons and that " all parties [were] all most fatigued to death." The President, he added, had retreated to Caleb Bentley's.[19]

Not all of the refugees, apparently, could fully comprehend the extent of the disaster that had befallen them. One, Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, wife of the editor of the *National Intelligencer*, expressed concern for the " poor wearied and terrified creatures " that passed by the Bentley door, but she sought to avoid the realities of her plight by describing the excellent accommodations that Mrs. Bentley had afforded her and by depicting the village of Brookeville as a " secluded spot [where] one might hope the noise or rumour of war would never reach." Unquestionably the " security and peace " of Brookeville seemed to her all important as with admiration she quoted Mrs. Bentley's comment: " It is against our principles to have anything to do with war, but we receive and relieve all who come to us." [20]

By August 27, however, affairs in Washington had quieted down somewhat inasmuch as the British had departed. Writing to Mrs. Madison from the Bentley home on this date, the President stated that he was assured that Washington was free of British troops and that he was therefore returning immediately, although he confessed he did not know where they would be able to find place to " hide our heads." [21]

In spite of the war, which greatly crippled trade, Caleb Bentley managed to bring the Triadelphia mills safely through the economic vicissitudes of that era. By this time Isaac Briggs and Thomas Moore had resigned from active participation in the enterprise; by 1830 Bentley himself was prepared to retire.[22] It was therefore agreed by Caleb and the heirs of his deceased partners that the mills should be sold. Samuel P. Gilpin of Sandy Spring was their purchaser.

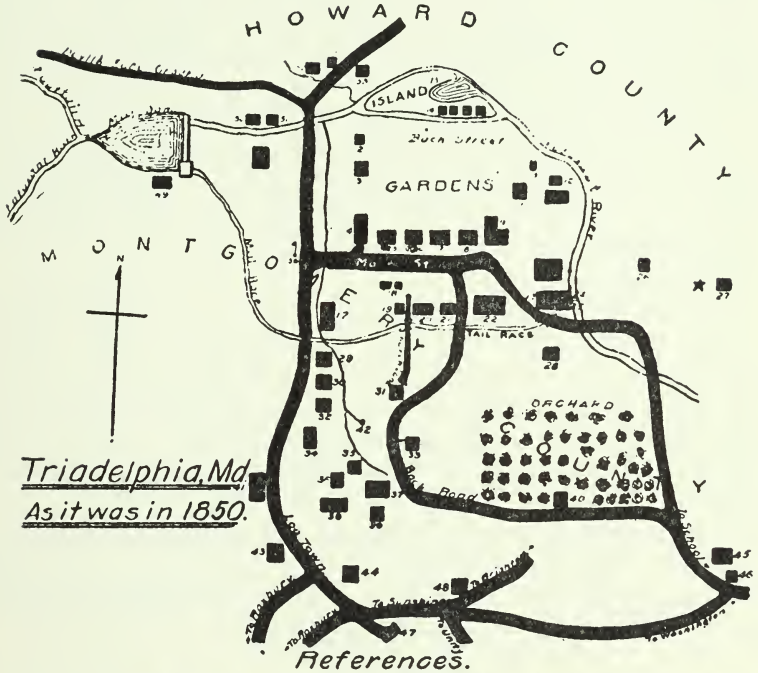
[19] Moore to Mrs. Moore, September 3, 1814, letter in possession of E. B. Stabler.
[20] Margaret Bayard Smith, *The First Forty Years of Washington Society* (New York: Scribner's, 1906), pp. 98-104.
[21] A copy of this letter together with a plaque describing the historical significance of the Bentley home are present in the house today. The plaque reads: " In this house Aug. 26 to 27, 1814, James Madison and Richard Rush were sheltered after the burning by the British of the public buildings at Washington Aug. 26, 1814. Erected by the Montgomery County Committee of the Star Spangled Banner Society, 1914."
[22] Bentley and his wife retired to " Bloomfield," Sandy Spring. He died in 1851.

In the ensuing years the Triadelphia mills were to experience several owners and many managers: of these individuals little can be ascertained today. But two or three, like some of the inhabitants of the village, have left brief records behind them; and since this is in part the chronicle of a village, it is fitting that some allusion be made to these men here. One of the managers of the mills, for example, was Thomas Lansdale. Having gained experience at the Savage mills in Anne Arundel county and at Ellicott's mills on the Patapsco, he returned to Triadelphia in the 1840s and introduced steam into the factories for heating purposes, an innovation that had few parallels in Maryland at the time. Lansdale, like Thomas Moore, was also inclined towards invention, having directed his attention to wood-planing machinery, metallic yokes for swing bells, and so on.[23] Finally, it should be noted that his family was in active possession of the mill properties from 1872 until 1930.

In the 1850's the mills came briefly under the supervision of Allen Bowie Davis. Again parallels can be drawn between an original founder and a subsequent manager, for Davis, like Moore, was more than casually interested in scientific agriculture. He was one of the first trustees of the Maryland Agricultural College, now the University of Maryland, and was, in addition, at one time president of the Maryland Agricultural Society.[24] He occupied his grandfather's home " Greenwood," once among the finest places in Montgomery County.

A third citizen of Triadelphia, William Painter, should also be noted here, not because of any influence that he exercised over the operation of the town's industrial life but rather because of the influence that the Triadelphia mills exercised over him. Born in 1838, the son of Dr. Edward Painter and Louisa Gilpin Painter, Edward Painter was to devote much of his life to mechanical engineering. Over eighty-five patents were granted in his name; and one of these, a wire-retaining rubber stopper, brought about the organization of the Triumph Bottle Stopper Company, a forerunner of the Crown Cork and Seal Company. Painter joined the latter corporation at its inception, serving until 1903 as secretary and general manager.[25]

[23] Dawson Lawrence, *Atlas of Montgomery County* (Philadelphia: C. M. Hopkins, 1879).
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] Orrin C. Painter, *Genealogy and Biographical Sketches of the Family of Samuel Painter.* (Baltimore: Bridges, 1903.)


HOWARD
COUNTY
MONTGOMERY
ISLAND
GARDENS
POST OFFICE
TAIL RACE
ORCHARD
Triadelphia, Md
As it was in 1850.
References.
1 Geo. Linsey's Blacksmith Shop
2 Robt Brown's Log House.
3 Ossire's Frame House
4 Double House of Brone & Holland.
5 do do of Harvey & Bowman.
6 do do of Larman & Wicks.
7 do. do of Becker & Wahlen.
8 do do of Canby & Anker.
9 do do. of Miller & Warfield
10 Big Cotton House.
11 Double House of Dwyer & Musgrove
12 Stables.
13 Cotten Waste House
14 Hog Pens
15 Frog Pond
16 Company Store
17 Odd Fellow's Hall (School Below)
18 Spring and Dairies
19 Mrs. Lewis' House. Formerly Occupied by Wm Brown.
20 Peregoy's Double House
21 Double House of Helm & Beam
22 Factory.
23 Flour Mill
24 Bone & Plaster Mills (Formerly Brown's Chair Factory)
25 Saw Mill.
26 Hazel Hobb's Cooper Shop.
27 Resin Duval's House.
28 Wm Wilson's House. Turner's Child Drowned
29 Wilson Brown's House 1851-59.
30 do. do Cabinet Shop.
31 Church
32 Widow Barnes' House.
33 Meat House.
34 Fruit House.
35 Corn House
36 Carriage House.
37 Stables Where Big Mule Teams Were Kept
38 Barn Where Wheat was Flailed
39 Hay Barrack
40 Old Tobacco House
41 Double House of Linsey & Mahnen
42 Spring.
43 School House (Burned Down)
44 Uriah Brown's Farm House
45 Company Farm House. (Brone)
46 Lime Kiln
47 Mt Carmel Methodist Church
48 Sunshine.
49 Ice House.
50 Elizabeth Bright (Colored)
51 Oliver Derry (Col.) Teamster for Brone)
52 Cauliflower Cabinet Maker.
53 Old Whiteside House
54 Dunn's House.
55 Private School House
56 Bell & Everett Pole.
57 Sycomore Trees
58
59 White Oak Tree.
* Indicates Place of Explosion

Map from *Religious Telescope*, Dayton, Ohio, August 23, 1911.

Although some of its citizens were to secure prosperity and success in years following the Civil War, Triadelphia itself evidenced little save decline. In 1868 the Patuxent river went on the rampage and swept away a part of the ill-fated town. The grist mill and a blacksmith shop remained in operation; the post office continued the three weekly mails that more prosperous times had made necessary; but the town itself never recovered. Later a second flood destroyed all possibilities of restoration. From that time on the ruined village became a local "ghost town"—a haunt of picknickers. Their swimming hole was a deep pool lying between rocky banks. The surrounding woodlands were a tangle of wild fox grapes.

The devastation that time and flood had brought was only too evident to one former resident who returned in 1905. Tears came to his eyes, he recorded, when he beheld the ruins of this once-prosperous community. The village church was stored with farm implements.[26] The once trim main street was a weed-choked lane, passing by two dilapidated stone houses and dwindling into a foot path which lost itself in the woods.

Along the banks great blue herons and kingfishes survey their new water kingdom. Only the honk of wild geese or the putt-putt of a patrol boat break for a moment the stillness that now has settled upon the village of Triadelphia.

STATEMENT OF CONDITION, 1815, CALEB BENTLEY & CO.

[From paper in Possession of Mrs. E. H. Stabler]

Triadelphia Stock, invested as follows;

In the Cotton Factory	$22,000
9 Dwelling houses & 1 Store, on rent for $400 pr. an.	6,400
Farm, 275 acres @ $30	8,250
Gristmill	3,550
Sawmill	1,300
Wool Cards &c	1,000
Whole amount of Stock (now invested).	$42,500

List of Debts (in Notes from C. B. & Co.)

	1815		Prin.
To Bank of Columbia	dated 3 mo 23	payable 5 mo 25	4,500
" B. of Frederick Town	" 2 mo 15	" 4 mo 19	3,000
" U. B. of George Town	" 3 mo 10	" 7 mo 10	1,300
" Dr. John Bowie	" 7 mo 20	" 7 mo 20	2,500

[26] Brane, *op. cit.*

1814

" Roger Brooke Trustee	"	10 mo 1	"	12 mo 31		1,074.62
" Micajah Welding	"					1,000
" Roger Brooke	"	1 mo 1	"			300
" James B. Matthews	"					400
" William H. Anderson	"	3 mo 6	"	3 mo 6		370
						14,444.62

Notes in the Name of Isaac Briggs)

1814

" Beale Gaither	dated	5 mo 31	payable	on	demand	400
" Robert Ramsay	"	6 mo 1	"	"	"	900
" Patrick D. Savage	"	7 mo 5	"	"	"	300
						1,600
" Caleb Bentley					10,500	
" Bernard Gilpin					10,500	
" Thomas Moore					4,700	
						25,700
						41,744.62
Probable Amount of Interest occuring 4 mo 1-1815						234.38
Balance due to Isaac Briggs						521.—
						42,500.—

Estimate for 1815. Profits & Expenses of Cotton Spinning at Triadelphia, by J. Briggs

[Paper in possession of Mrs. E. H. Stabler]

Taking the course of work which we have found practicable and performed during the 4 first weeks of this year (1815) as a standard, and supposing it continued throughout the year, the result would be as follows;

We spin pr week 400 lbs. yarn averaging No. 10 which is pr annum 20,800 lbs. yarn at 70¢		$14,560.—
To the weight of yarn add its ⅕ part & we have		
24,960 lbs. Bale Cotton, suppose @ 26¢ ..... rated on the yarn it is @ 31-⅕¢	6489.60	
Hauling do. (rated on the yarn) at ½¢	104.—	
Wages, $70 pr. week, which is pr. annum.... rated on the yarn at 17-½¢.....	3640.—	
Packing 20800 lbs. yarn at ½¢	104.—	
Carrying out do. @ 3/10¢	62.40	
All these added together, rated on the yarn @ 50¢		10,400.—
Gross annual profit at 20¢		4,160.—
Deduct, Interest on $21,000		1,260.—
For Dividend		$ 2,900.—

We have 9 Carding Engines, which ought to produce 540 lbs. yarn pr. week and with the addition of a good Picking Machine & a good Stretching frame, they would do it; these would add $800 to our stock—

540 lbs. yarn pr. week, would be per annum	
28080 lbs. at 20¢ for gross annual profit	$ 5,616.—
Deduct Interest on $21800	1,308.—
Leaving for Dividend	$ 4,308.—

With the addition of $6200 more to our stock, we might have 12 Carding Engines, 1200 Spinning Spindles, & the intermediate machinery in correct proportion, we ought then to produce 720 lbs. yarn per week, or 37,440 lbs. pr. annum @ 22¢ for gross annual profit..... $ 8236.80

Deduct Interest on $28000.....	1680.—
Leaving for Dividend.....	$ 6556.80

HERO WORSHIP AS EXPRESSED IN BALTIMORE STREET NAMES

By Douglas H. Gordon

Visitors to London are frequently regaled with an account of the streets named for George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. They are not always told that it was the noble Duke himself, who when he sold York House and its grounds, extending from the Thames to the Strand, insisted that the streets to be laid out on the property by the new owner should be called George Street, Villiers Street, Duke Street, and Buckingham Street and that the connecting link between the last two should receive the glorious designation, " Of Lane."

The personality dictating such a curiously egotistical procedure is described in Alexander Pope's lines as a rattle-brained eccentric,

> Who in the course of one revolving moon,
> Was chemist, fiddler, statesman and buffoon,
> Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,
> Besides ten thousand freaks that died in thinking.

Another poet of the time did not have to name the same courtier and street namer when he prayed to be delivered from,

> Damning whatever we do not understand,
> From purchasing at Dowgate and selling in the Strand,
> Calling streets by our name when we have sold the land.

Baltimore streets show many examples of more spontaneous naming, based not upon self-adoration, but upon true hero worship. George Washington is honored by Washington Street, Washington Boulevard, and Washington Place, besides Mount Vernon Place. John Eager Howard, Revolutionary officer, governor, friend of Washington and Lafayette, and ever entitled to Baltimore's gratitude for his early efforts at city planning, is remembered by John Street, Eager Street and Howard Street.

Charles Carroll is doubly recalled by Carroll Street and Carrollton Avenue, and Lafayette by Fayette Street and Lafayette Avenue.

Names that precede the Revolutionary period are Cheapside, Fleet Street, Leadenhall Street, Lombard Street, Thames Street and Wapping Alley, all reminiscent of London. In the days before the mismanagement of the colonies by a party too long in power, had brought odium upon everything royal, Hanover Street glorified the continental kingdom of the ruling family of England, and Brunswick Street, Hanover's similarly ruled neighbor.

Names of English defenders of the American Colonists are Barre, Wilkes and Chatham, whose family name, Pitt, was given to two streets, both of which have disappeared. Among streets named for friends of America should also be mentioned Pratt and Camden (and perhaps even Charles Street, the origin of which has never been satisfactorily explained). These remind the present age of Charles Pratt, Lord Camden, who made himself the idol of the Colonists by boldly declaring invalid the general search warrants under which evidence was sought to support treason charges against Wilkes and other persons obnoxious to the hated government of George III. Wolfe Street bears the name of the conqueror of the French at Montreal. His conquered antagonist was generously accorded recognition in the naming of Montcalm Street.

Sections dear to Colonists from London or to later sojourners there are recorded in the names Bloomsbury, Chelsea, Pall Mall and Walbrook. Nearby cities gave their names to Brighton, Windsor, Canterbury and Oxford. Celebrated English homes are recalled by Carlton Street, derived from George IV's Carlton House, Fonthill Street, from William Beckford's Fonthill Abbey, Kenwood Street, from the superb home designed by the Adam brothers for Chief Justice Mansfield (now a public museum containing the magnificent collection of paintings formed by the late Lord Iveagh), and Goodwood Road from the estate of the Duke of Richmond in Sussex.

Eden Street carries on the name of the last Colonial Governor of Maryland, ancestor of Anthony Eden, and brother-in-law of the last Lord Calvert for whose family, of course, Calvert Street as well as Baltimore Street is named. Harford Avenue is named for the county to which it leads, and this in turn for Henry Harford, the illegitimate son of the final Lord Calvert to whom he

bequeathed the State of Maryland, an inheritance that about this time declined to be inherited.

At the period of the Revolution when patriotic sentiments were running high, Lexington Street reflected Baltimore's enthusiasm for the battle where the shot was fired " heard round the world," Saratoga Street for the surrender of the hard-hearted but unsuccessful English general, Burgoyne, and Eutaw Street for the battle of Eutaw Springs in which the " Maryland Line " took a glorious part. Liberty, Federal and Independence Streets suggest the ideas of the Revolutionary and subsequent periods. Statesmen and soldiers of the Revolution who gave their names to Baltimore streets were Samuel Chase, the turbulent Revolutionary figure who became a justice of the Supreme Court, Franklin, Nathaniel Greene, second only to Washington in the military side of the Revolution, John Hanson, first President of the Congress of the Confederacy, under the Articles of Confederation, and sometimes called the first provisional President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, whose claims to fame are too well-known to require mention, John Laurens, Washington's aide who with the Vicomte de Noailles, dictated the terms of Cornwallis' surrender, James McHenry, Washington's and afterwards Lafayette's secretary from whom Baltimore's harbor fort received its name when he was Secretary of War during Washington's second administration, James Madison, the most influential member of the Constitutional Convention, James Monroe, his successor as President, and creator of the Monroe Doctrine, William Paca, one of Maryland's signers of the Declaration and its third Governor, Casimir Pulaski, the unfortunate Polish nobleman, who lost his life in the cause of American liberty, William Smallwood, Commander of the first Maryland regiment in the Revolutionary War, Baron von Steuben, who built up the discipline of the Revolutionary recruits, and made them more than a match for professional British soldiers, Richard Stockton, one of New Jersey's signers of the Declaration, and Anthony Wayne, whose impulsiveness in attacking the foe earned him the honorable soubriquet of Mad Anthony Wayne.

The period of the war of 1812 and the first half-century of the prospering republic live again in the names of Armistead, defender of Fort McHenry against the British, Barney, the brilliant naval commander called a pirate by the British, Brooks, an early President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Calhoun,

Baltimore's first mayor, Caton, son-in-law of Charles Carroll and father of the first American Duchess, the Duchess of Leinster (to be succeeded a hundred years later by another Baltimorean as the first Royal Duchess), Clay, who is also remembered by Ashland Street, named for his home in Kentucky, Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury and acting Secretary of War during the last part of the war of 1812, Decatur who fought the Tripoli pirates, Fulton, the inventor of the steamship, Fremont, army officer, explorer and first presidential candidate of the Republican party, Latrobe, distinguished architect and engineer who designed the Cathedral, Perry, naval hero of the war of 1812, Poe, greatest of American poets, Taney, Maryland's only Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Poppleton, famed for his survey of Baltimore. The popularity of Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, is proclaimed by a street, as well as by the more generally known cake bearing his name, unheard of outside Baltimore, despite its great fame here. Ashburton Street reminds this disturbed century of the English lord who obligingly yielded to American views, and thus terminated the acrimonious Canadian border controversy, Lyndhurst Street, of John Singleton Copley, Jr., son of the Boston painter, who became famous under the title of Lord Lyndhurst, as the only American born Chancellor of England.

Strange contrasts exist in the names of such oddly assorted pairs of streets as Argonne and Arizona, Baltic and Boston, Berlin and China, Burgundy and California, Colorado and Cuba, Delaware and Devonshire, Granada and Idaho, Montpelier and Ottawa, and Portugal and Vincennes. Shakespeare, Hamlet and Elsinore, Scott, Kenilworth and Ivanhoe, and Milton, suggest that literary admirations were once included among the ideas of the builders of our City.

Other names are purely descriptive and range all the way from matter-of-fact Quarry Avenue to Cold Spring Lane, including Reservoir Street, Terrace Road, Water Street, Falls Road and Valley Street. In contrast some streets have names hardly applicable to thoroughfares at all, such as Port and Madeira, Pearl and Iris, Mince and Muriel, and Crystal and Comet Streets, and Wine and Cider Alleys.

Then too, there are names suggesting Baltimore's great seafaring past such as Baltic, Bremen, China, Hamburg, and a host

of names of otherwise forgotten shipmasters in the section of the City around the harbor.

Former suburbs which have become part of metropolitan Baltimore are numerous. Equally interesting are survivals of the names of estates which have long since, in most cases, been divided into rows of smaller houses. Auchentoroly Terrace takes its name from Auchentorolie, the Buchanan estate, afterwards acquired by Colonel Nicholas Rogers by marrying his cousin Eleanor Buchanan, and now a part of Druid Hill Park, the name of which in turn comes from the name of the combined Buchanan and Rogers properties. Clifton Park was once the summer home of Johns Hopkins. Cylburn Road skirts the boundary of the beautiful Tyson-Cotten estate, Cylburn, recently acquired by the City as a park. Greenmount Avenue, bordering the cemetery, runs through part of Greenmount, owned by the Oliver family, whose entrance was where Oliver Street begins. Guilford Avenue leads to the McDonald property (later owned by the Abell family), which gave its name to the Roland Park Company's most ambitious development. Nearby Kernwood Avenue and its variants, Kerneway and Kernyork Lane owe their names to Kernwood, a Wilson home, now replaced by that of Mrs. Miles White. Darley Avenue occupies part of Darley Hall, a Patterson home in northeast Baltimore. Nearby Homewood Avenue shows how far the property of the younger Carroll, whose residence is now the architectural jewel of the Johns Hopkins University campus, once extended. Mondawmin Avenue has adopted the name of the nearby home still occupied by the patriarch of Baltimore financiers, Alexander Brown. Montebello Drive recalls the Samuel Smith villa afterwards owned by the Garrett family. Mt. Clare Street shares the name of the finest Eighteenth Century house surviving in Baltimore, that of Charles Carroll the Barrister, recently restored and opened to the public. Oak Hill Avenue perpetuates the name of the Jenkins-Kennedy-Boone home which formerly stood just north of Greenmount Cemetery where Kennedy and Boone Streets begin. Tivoly was the exotic name, exotically spelled, of the country place of one of Baltimore's most practical citizens, Enoch Pratt.

It would be an endless task to explain the origin of Baltimore streets having Baltimore family names, often those of real estate

developers. At least the ones which have been mentioned,—and in some cases no doubt they have been named for undistinguished citizens whose names are identical with those of heroes—, recall pleasant memories of the subjects of Baltimoreans' admiration, and of the interesting development of the metropolis of today. These streets have not acquired their names by such duress as the freakish second Duke of Buckingham practised at the time of the sale of York House. They carry to future ages far more satisfactorily the memory of those who built the City or were for more spectacular accomplishments admired by its citizens.

WILLIAM H. RINEHART'S LETTERS TO FRANK B. MAYER, 1856-1870

Edited by Marvin C. Ross and Anna Wells Rutledge

Thirteen letters from William Henry Rinehart (1825-1874), the Maryland sculptor, to Frank Blackwell Mayer (1827-1878), the Maryland painter, cover the period from the commencement of the sculptor's life in Europe until shortly before his death. They give an account of the social and artistic climate of Baltimore and a pleasant picture of his association with artists and patrons in Rome. They demonstrate very vividly how a talented and genial boy from the farm was helped and welcomed by the prosperous merchants at home and his fellow-artists abroad. These letters are published at the same time as an exhibition of his sculpture held at the Walters Art Gallery under the joint sponsorship of The Peabody Institute and with a catalogue by these editors (*A Catalogue of the Work of William H. Rinehart*, Baltimore, 1948). The letters were presented to the library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art by A. Hyatt Mayer, who had received them from Frank B. Mayer's stepdaughter.

Other Rinehart letters, addressed to his friend and patron, William T. Walters, have been published by William Sener Rusk in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, "New Rinehart Letters," Vol. XXXI, pp. 225-242 (1936).

For further material on Rinehart, the reader is referred to the following: "Notes on the Life of William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor," by William Sener Rusk, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XIX, pp. 309-338 (Dec., 1924); "Rinehart Works" by William Sener Rusk, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XX, pp. 380-383 (Dec., 1925); and to the book, William Sener Rusk, *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor*, Baltimore, Norman T. A. Munder, 1939.

Florence June 11th 1856

My dear Mayer

Your of April 6 & inclosed from Mr. Baughman [1] came duly to hand and as no combination of words by me can express my surprize & joy I

[1] Head of the Baltimore marble yard where Rinehart had worked.

will content myself by returning my heartfelt thanks for your ernest & never tiring efforts in my behalf. I can assure you nothing could of been more oppertune for if things had not of turned up I could of been on my way home in three months. However much I desire to remain here a wile longer you need not have any fear of my not returning to America. If I can get money I shall remain here a year or two longer for I feel certain it will be best. I hope before this to of seen you out here what do you think about In fact it is not worthwhile for you to think much about it pack up & come immediately & what have you been doing since I last write & let me know all about art in Baltimore the long letter I wrote you some weeks since leaves me nothing to fill up with except I give you a description of Italy & the Italians but I think I will refer you to Hilliard [2] or Murry [3] I am sure they will be more interesting than I would be. The commission you so kindly obtained for me I will commence in a few months & do my best upon it you may depend.[4] I will also make a sketch for a geant & forward it as soon as possible. Please thank Mr. Albert in my name & say to him I hope to prove myself worthy of the confidence he has placed in me. My thanks to Mr. Wyman [5] also. My best respects to all inquiring friends

Yours . . .

Wm H Rinehart

F B Mayer

1856

London September 6th

My dear Mayer

I take the liberty of inclosing to you two *photographs* from a new sketch of my *Indian* [6] Soon after my arrival in Europe I became asshamed of my little figure so I threw it against the wall & broke it too pieces. the present one I think is a decided improvement on the other though the spirit & attitude is much the same This however illustrates a different story. The time is midnight & she is trailing her undergarment around the cornfield to keep off the vermin it was a cave man custom among the Indians. Longfellow makes mention of it.[7]

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[2] Referring to one of the editions of George Stillman Hillard's editions of *Six Months in Italy.*

[3] John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy.*

[4] Possibly the commission for the *Indian Girl.*

[5] Samuel Wyman and Mrs. Wyman of Baltimore were among the sculptor's first patrons; they purchased a marble "Backswoodsman" said to have been his first work in that material, possibly his first work in marble in the round. This was exhibited at the Maryland Historical Society in 1856. Its present location is unknown.

[6] Executed on order for Augustus J. Albert, 1828-1912, of Baltimore, a generous friend and patron.

[7] In "Hiawatha"; the "Blessing of the Corn Fields." Rinehart must have been using the first edition (Boston, 1855).

I think it a very Philasophical idea founded on the fact that many animals will not pass were man has been if they can well avoid it & the trailing of the undergarment would leave a much stronger scent than walking around In looking at the picture you must not forget that it is taken from a mere sketch for which I had nether cast or models to make from Mr. Hart [8] thinks it decidedly my best effort. I see by the Photograph it wants feeling in to all over which of course I could not do without no time I hope to make another . . . picture of it next time.

I will return to Florence soon & commence it as large as life. I find it much better to model life size & I can reduce it to any size in marble. a figure always improves by being reduced from a larger to a smaller but never vice versi. I wish he would order it life size. I would do it for $1,800.00 it would do me so much more good. Please send one of these to Mr. Albert & explain its being taken from a sketch. I wish if it is in your power let me know something about his tastes For a group wether he is fond of the *sentimental Heroick* or *sad* so that I may work more knowingly since little time must necessarily elapse before I can send a design for it is something which requires the greatest care & study If I new the man I could much easier please him I have not been idle in making sketches but as yet have none to please me. I am here in London by invitation of Mr. Hart who came here to try his modelling instrument & get it Patented. I found myself out of money about the first of July. He made me the offer if I would come with him here & help him he would pay all expenses both traveling & living so I have spent a couple of summer months here most delightfully and profitably

The Crystal Palace Westminster Abby & British Museum are all filled with great & noble works of sculpture. I will not attempt to describe them for I have no descriptive powers but I find a wonderful deal here to study.

I am quite ancious to here from you. I have written twice but have as yet had no answer. please answer this immediately if you have time. If it is not too much trouble I wish you would mount the Photographs you send to Albert it will show so much better. Remember me to Mr. & Mrs. Wyman Mr. & Mrs. Mayer [9] & the rest of your family. Except my innermost thanks for your many favours wilst I

Remain yours truly

Wm H Rinehart

Mr. F B *Mayer*

N. B. *direct Florence, Italy*

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[8] Joel T. Hart, 1810-1877, American sculptor, who invented and patented a machine which facilitated measuring for portrait busts. He wrote his brother from London in 1857: "Powers, and the rest of them, hate it like the devil." In London he received orders for ten busts at one hundred guineas each.

[9] Charles Frederick Mayer, 1795-1864, a Baltimore lawyer. Mrs. Mayer was Eliza Caldwell Blackwell, 1803-? . . .

1856
London September 26th

Newman st Oxford St

My dear Mayer

Although nothing received in answer to either of my last letters I hope you will pardon my again troubling you. Inclosed I send you a Photograph taken from a sketch which I have made for Mr. Albert [10] the model from which it was taken is very small ruff & no doubt full of faults and must be viewed as a *sketch* merely. The subject is a group as you will perceive which I call an early settler or Pioneer & family consisting of father mother & child as accompanied by their faithful dog. Upon a rock from under which gushes a fountain back of the child sits the Father after a hard days travel riffle in hand with the mother tired and faint has fallen to sleep upon his nee the child who is supposed to of been carried all day is playfully amusing himself with the dog whose quick perception sees something in the distance.

The whole forming a pyramid with this slyte discription I must stop for I have not language for my ideas or in other words have no descriptive powers. I know with your strong & quick perceptions you will readily understand it. I wish you to pass your opinion upon it freely to me. I know it is full of faults in drawing & modeling but will the idea do.[11] If you think it has sufficient merit to recommend it please show it to Mr. Albert & your uncle B— Mayer [12] & other who may come in the way. If mr. Albert or any others should see fit to honor me with a commission for it the price I would do it for is this

the size of life $4 000.00
half do 1800.00

This is as little as I think it could be done for as it would be equal to three full size figures & the marble would cost a great deal more in a group than single figures. two of them at least would have to be in one piece.

Now speaking honestly I think this as low as I could do it but if he likes the design & the price is an objection I have no doubt we can arrange it satisfactory. Please write me at your earliest convenience & let me know all about it. any suggestions you have to make either in this or the Indian Girl you think proper I would receive with great pleasure for my confidence in your opinion has not in the slitest diminished but still do & ever will remember with gratitude the many kindly suggestions you made when I was yet with you. I am quite well & am still in London but long to get back to old Italy the reason of my being

[10] Probably Augustus Albert.
[11] This group was never executed in the large.
[12] Brantz Mayer, 1809-1879, of Baltimore. Lawyer, author and traveller; one of the founders of the Maryland Historical Society and its president 1867-71; he was also President of the Library Company of Baltimore.

here I explained in my last letter Although we have as yet modelled but one bust I think we will make it pay before we leave for myself I have been already paid fourfold in information for there is much here both to interest and instruct. I have not been idle by any means for were there is so much to see there is a vast deal sugested & I have been busy making sketches I have another which will be finished in two or three weeks which if it comes out well I will bore you with another photograph it is a female figure full draped.

I hope you will not think me vain in sending you so many photographs for it is not notoriety I am after but a commission supposing I have now about bored your patience out I will close but you would like no doubt my opinion of Jony Bull. the best description I have heard of the general opinion of the English was given by Rogers [13] the sculptor the heads of the women are like plum pudding thus [sketch] & of the men a plum pudding with mutton chop wiskers thus [sketch] however I like them pretty well & London too yours truly

Wm H Rinehart

if you write soon direct here if not

to Italy

I perhaps will remain here a month longer so if you write soon direct no 74 Newman St. Oxford St London if however you do not write soon direct Florence Italy my letters are perfectly safe there — I have a friend & he sends them to me. I am very anxious to now how you are agetting along & when you are a coming out to this old country if you clear out strike for Rome I am agoing there as soon as I get money enough. Please send me your address for fear you have not received my letter I send this to Baughman

Rome July 5 1859

My dear Mayer

I suppose you think it is a long wile between letters but to tell you the truth I have so many to write & so little to write about that I have got extremely tired trying to find something except I take up the all absorbing question of the day that is war. War is all that is thought of or talked about even in this extraordinary quiet place or I might almost say stupid place the excitement has been quite high which shows that the Romans are not quite dead yet they still have a small spark within them that if blowed a little bit will blaze after the Battle of Magenta [14] the whole city was illuminated by the people shouted in the street for France & liberty. I was surprized upon going into the street to hear shouting

[13] Randolph Rogers, 1825-1892, sculptor; an American long resident in Rome; he finished Crawford's Washington for Richmond; he made doors for the United States Capitol. His most popular work was *Nydia*, of which the Peabody Institute owns a copy.

[14] Defeat of the Austrians by the French and Sardinians.

so I went to see what it was & I found an immense crowd around the house of the Sardinian Minister & after leaving that they move to the french Generals all the time shouting thence to the Ministers & soon although the street was densely crowded & the pope mad with excitement I cant say that I never saw so many people of all rank upon an occasion of the kind conduct themselves so well. So far there has not been any disturbance in Rome owing intirely to the French being here.

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The conduct of the Swiss was very outrageous & has been severely condemned by the press throughout Europe. Mr. Perkins [15] was staying at a Hotel in which they killed the landlord & a waiter that was waiting on them at table it was with the greatest difficulty he saved his own & the lives of the Ladies that were with him they lost all of their baggage & everything of value even to their waches. he has applied to the Government for redress which I suppose he will get

The Government here would not last a day if it was not for the French troops as far as I can learn the people are universaly in favour of a change. the good old Pope [16] is much beloved but the Cardinals & Priests are hated

From the best of my knowledge all the facts that I can gather there is no people that I have met on whom religion has such a shallow hold In fact I have not yet found one bit of what might be called a true religious sentiment among them no place were I have been were the church has so small a speritual hold upon the people this no doubt would astonish people who have never lived in Rome but it is a fact as far as I am able to judge the temporal power is still weaker than the Speritual. this Government could not hold its place a single hour if Foreign troops were removed I dont believe that this Government could count on a single man except the Swiss of which their are about three thousand But as I have said before there is no danger of a disturbance as long as the French remain & they will continue here without there is a break between the Governments, which is not a tal likely. The Roman troops are deserting almost daily & going to the seat of war. Many thousand citizens have gone also to fight for Italian freedom Success has crowned the French arms in every struggle. . . . There is nothing new in the way of art. Most of the panters have left town & some of the Sculptors in fact they are all gone but about a dozen & they only stay because they have no money to get away. Some have gone to the mountains around Rome & others to the country to spend the summer & some have gone home to live. Among the Americans gone or agoing home this summer are Thomson [17] Witheridge [18] Braun [19] & Nicols.[20] Painter

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[15] Probably Charles C. Perkins, 1823-1886, art critic of Boston. This happened in Perugia.

[16] Pius IX, 1792-1878.

[17] Possibly Ceaphas G. Thompson, 1809-1888, portrait and figure painter, or Alfred Wordsworth Thompson, 1840-1896, of Baltimore.

[18] Thomas Worthington Whittredge, 1820-1910, landscape and figure painter.

[19] Probably George Loring Brown, 1814-1889, portrait and landscape painter.

[20] Possibly Edward W. Nichols, 1819-1871, portrait painter.

Page [21] has gone to England weather to stay or not he does not know among the sculptors Ives [22] will go home on a visit & Mosier [23] perhaps to stay. With out there is some new ones coming their will not be a large crowd here next winter in fact tho I don't think their will be many strangers here if the war continues.

In about two weeks I will have completed another little figure I expect to remain & work it is not the custom but I will try it

Perhaps I will get out about a week to take some baths. About three months ago I wrote to Mr. Walters [24] sending him a photograph of Alberts figure [25] & a draft on him for half of the money & about two or three weeks later I wrote again sending him drafts on those persons for whom I made the busts but up to this time I have not heard a word from him. I am afraid he has written & the letter miscarried. I wish you would see him imediately on recept of this & inquire wether he has sent any or not it seems strange that I have not had a word from him for six months I will write him again as soon as this figure is finished

Yours truly

Wm. H Rinehart

Remember me to all & kick Alfred [26] & Lewis [27] for not writing I will write to McDowell [28] soon

Tell Walters perhaps it would be safer to send by the other mail during the war

Rome Decem 7th 1859

Dear Friend

I received a letter from you last week & of course was glad to be so highly favoured for I begin to think that between pleasant excursions Ladies & painting you had forgotten me intirely I am now fairly settled here in Rome I hope for a wile & have been working hard for some time I have modeled a bust of Mr. Stone [29] I am pretty well advanced with Alberts figure of the Indian will send you a photograph when it is done. There are very few American painters here at present

Chapman [30] Page Braun landscape painter Witteridge also Thomson portrait & Williams everyday life make up the list as far as I know.

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[21] William Page, 1811-1885, portrait and figure painter.

[22] Chauncey Bradley Ives, 1810-1894, a popular sculptor.

[23] Joseph Mozier, 1812-1870, sculptor; the Peabody Institute owns his head of *Pocahontas*.

[24] William T. Walters, 1820-1894, financier, art collector and philanthropist of Baltimore.

[25] Probably the *Indian Girl*.

[26] Alfred Mayer, 1836-1897, of Baltimore; distinguished physicist and author; for many years professor at Lehigh University and at Stevens Institute of Technoolgy.

[27] Lewis Mayer, 1833-1886, of Baltimore; lawyer and author.

[28] Edward McDowell, 1837-1913, of Baltimore; amateur painter; he married Beata Mayer.

[29] Unidentified.

[30] John Gadsby Chapman, 1808-1890, portrait and historical painter.

Cranch [31] came here last week there are a few others that I have not seen Chapman I have not yet had the pleasure of meeting. Page is painting another venus which promises to be wonderfully fine his stile is pecular his own & consists in glazing one thin coat over an other an indefinite number of times. he seems to be successful with it but no one else has as far as I can learn, the fact of the business is this that Page is rather an extraordinary man & would be successful with a most any stile.

Braun & Witheridge are both very good landscape painters I am not much astonished to find but few painters here when Paris offers so much finer field for study there are a great many fine pictures here in Rome but they are so scattered about that it takes so much time to see them In Paris they are all concentrated nearby in one place besides modern painting is so far ahead of any other place I have seen. In Sentiment perhaps the Germans are a head of the French but that is not so much what a young man wants in facts he has nor ought to have that in him but he wants stile which is to be found in Paris only in perfection I am asked my advice about what would be best for you I say go to Paris as soon as you can. Make up your mind to live there at least two years & you will make such progress that you never dreamed of Paris so far as I can ascertain is to the Painter what Rome is to the sculptor Traveling and seeing all kinds of art in the world is servisable very servisable. But hard study were one has all the facilities is a hundred fold better If you live the life as student $500. 00 will keep you a year I should very much like you to come here but I know that Paris is a much better place for a Painter.

I think it is high time that American artists should do something that would not only please the people at home & bring money into their pockets but they should do such work as would command the admiration of European artist. Such with one or two exceptions has not yet been the case. We have a few lights that have broken through the mist but they are very few. Besides the splendid examples continually inviting us to study & labour the spur of criticism is continually being bored into us & were is the horse however sperited that will not almost double his effort when the spir is applied. A man must be dead indeed who suffers himself to lag behind when he can do more who for instance could lay in bead when such men as Overbeck [32] Gibson [33] & others over sixty years of age are up by day break eating their breakfast late could leave his things go half finished when any young man that comes in criticizes it.

But enough of this Rome is beginning to fill up with strangers but they will be later this season on account of the Carnival coming later.

The wether has been very wet but we have had but one spell of cold which was very cold for Rome one day there was quite a snow storm something unusual it is now quite warm as our September wether. So

[31] John Cranch, 1807-1891, portrait painter.
[32] Johann Frederich Overbeck, 1789-1869, noted German painter.
[33] John Gibson, 1790-1866, noted English sculptor.

far I am not much pleased with the Roman nor their climate they are greater thiefs than the Florentine. However everybody who has lived here some time likes it & I suppose I will too after awile The avantages for study here are much better than Florence if it was not for that I would not stay among the great swarm of sculptors a small potato like myself is lost intirely. Give my best love to Alfered & Lewis. Remember me kindly to your Father Mother & sister [34] My pious regards to Walters McDowell Miller [35] Harley [36] & all who in quire after me *particular the ladies*

I wish if you see McCoy [37] you would ask him if he received a letter I wrote him? Write soon & direct care of Pakenham, Hooker & Co.,[38] Rome.

P. S. Should you see Dr. Cox [39] tel him I wrote him a letter from Florence but have had no answer say to McDowell that I received his letters & will answer them after a little while I wrote to him from Florence which is strange he did not get I also wrote to him from Rome a few weeks since which I suppose he has before this.

I have writtten him three letters since I left home I would very much like to take a glass of tody with you both.

Most truly

and sincerely your friend

Wm. H. Rinehart

Rome Dec. 9th 1859

My dear Frank

It has been such a long time since I heard I begin to think that perhaps I owe you a letter but I have honestly been thinking all along that you were my debtor. If the neglect has been on my part I must beg your pardon for I have been thinking all along that I had written last & have been anxiously waiting for an answer to my last. But let that be as it may I have not heard a word from or of you for a very long time. So long that I forget what your last letter contained. Were have you been & what a doing & when are you coming on to this old country. Now that I have commenced to write I dont know what in the Devil to write about every thing is as dull as it can possible be in Rome particularly in the art world. there is no new comers or goers this season there had

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[34] Eliza Mayer, born 1844.

[35] Alfred J. Miller, 1810-1874, portrait and landscape painter, particularly noted for his studies of Indians made on a western trip with Captain William Drummond-Stewart in 1836.

[36] James K. Harley, 1828-1889, artist of Baltimore.

[37] John W. McCoy, 1821-1889, of Baltimore, a man of business and patron of contemporary artists. During the Civil War he successfully operated iron mines in North Carolina. He was a Trustee and benefactor of The Peabody Institute and Johns Hopkins University, where the new college has been named for him.

[38] Bankers used by many Americans and English.

[39] Probably Dr. E. Gover Cox, 1820-1883, of Uniontown and Baltimore, a popular physician and member of many fraternal orders.

not been a single new artist English or American this winter which is very unusual.[40] Visitors are also scarce particularly buyers I am very much mistaken if the artist dont have another hard winter of it & if so I think there will be more of them leave next spring. There are but few painters here now & some of them are starving & would leave imediately but canot on account a their debts. Lets see we have only Chapman Page Williams[41] Tilten[42] Ropes[43] & Monteban[44] about half of them are very hard up but it is not only Americans that are suffering but all nations to tell you the truth I think most of the Americans would do better almost anywhere else. Rome is not the place for painters to locate. it is very well for them to spend a winter here but not settle down. Rome is essentialy the home for the sculptor. here he is surrounded with a crowd of sculpture, both ancient & modern. he has marble models & workmen at his command. there is almost everything to make it both attractive & interesting for him. I find it impossible to scrape up any art news. Rodgers has just finished the last figure for the Richmond monument. it is very clever. Ives is in America Hart of Florence will leave in a few days for the States after an absence of some eight years. Chapman has not yet returned but is expected in a day or two perhaps you met him. Page is now painting a large picture of Aaron & somebody else holding up to hands of Moses it promises well. I have just finished a group of sleeping children for Sison.[45] I sent Walters a Photograph of them.

Yesterday I commenced his statue of the Woman of Samaria from a new sketch I will have the sketch Photographed & send him one next week As I can find nothing new to write about I hope you will excuse this short letter & write me a good long one in return to make up for the shortness of mine. I wish you to take the trouble & kick Alfred & Lewis for not writing to me. Remember me most kindly to the two rascals & Charles[46] & your Father, Mother Aunt & Sisters & everybody else you may chance to meet who asks after me & if any young ladies ask give them my best love.

There is an old Friend of you Father here spending the winter a Judge Lyons[47] from New Orleans he is a good fellow.

Wm H. Rinehart

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[40] There was panic in America from fear of European war; outbreak of hostilities between Austria and the allies, France and Sardinia; and in England Disraeli's Reform Bill was under discussion.

[41] Probably John I. Williams, 1813- d. after 1850, a portrait and panorama painter, or Isaac Williams, 1817-1895, portrait and landscape painter.

[42] John Rollin Tilten, 1828-1888.

[43] Joseph Ropes, 1812-1885, painter in pastel.

[44] unidentified.

[45] Hugh Sisson, 1820-1893, of Baltimore. Proprietor of one of first and best equipped steam marble works in the country; a pioneer in the use of Maryland quarries from whence went material for the Washington Monument and the United States Capitol. Mr. Sisson was one of Rinehart's early patrons and commissioned the first of the *Sleeping Children*, and also busts of himself and his wife.

[46] Charles Frederick Mayer, 1832-1878, an officer in the United States Navy who saw service in the Civil War and afterwards worked as an engineer in Brazil.

[47] Of Bayou Sara, Louisiana.

Rome July 12 1860

My dear Mayer

I suppose you think I have intirely forgotten you but that is not the fact. I have been intending every week to write to you. I was glad to learn from your last letter that you were agetting along so well & also that Alfered had a situation worthy of his talent. I can assure you dear friend that nothing gives me greater pleasure than the prosperity of your family. Your brother Alfered is a young man of extraordinary talent & an amount of earnestness & industry that is sure to meet its reward. Baltimore has but few men with so much talent. I was glad to learn to of the rapid progress of art in Baltimore & of the success of the Alsten Academy from your letter.[48] I should suppose much had been done to promote the general interest of art since I left. I long to be with you again to see how things are agoing. I have not heard a word from Washington[49] for a long time. What has become of him. You never mention coming on to Europe anymore have you give it up. do not defer it until it is too late if you can find a rich wife that you like take her but if canot do that come to Europe as soon as you can at least to Paris Your friend George Lucas[50] & Frank Frick[51] were here a few weeks ago but made a short stay. Albert was here about a month ago stayed about ten days were he is now I do not know.

There has been some other Baltimoreans here lately but they were strangers to me & I do not remember their names. Every thing is as dead & dull as the D——l in Rome now. Of course nearly all the Artists have left for cooler quarters. I am still kept diging away & do not know weather I will get away during the hot weather. no it is d——m hot just now & I begin to feel a little weak but my general

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[48] An anonymous correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun* (Supplement) for November 5, 1881, in an article on "Art and Artists in Baltimore," wrote: "The Allston Association, of which I was one of the older members, was, I believe, first started by the efforts of Rinehart, A. J. H. Way, F. B. Mayer and James K. Harley. The preliminary meeting for its organization was held at the Academy of Letters, on Mulberry Street, and was attended by many leading citizens, the greater part of whom were much interested and took an active share in the proceedings. The Association at first proved a great success. Its membership was large, and composed of the very best material, and for some years it did good service in the promotion of art feeling and in the development of a true taste for what was artistic and good, both in music and painting. This state of affairs was not destined, however, to continue. Gradually it drifted into a mere eating club, the object for which it was started being totally lost sight of."

[49] William D. Washington, genre and landscape painter.

[50] George Lucas, of Baltimore and Paris, who died there in 1910 at the age of eighty-five, after a residence of over fifty years. (It is said that he was so seasick on the voyage over that he would never undertake a return one!) A collector, critic and connoisseur, he made his house the center for travelling Americans whom he introduced to the art and artists of the time; he was the real "discoverer" of Antoine Louis Barye, 1796-1875, the great sculptor and painter of animals. Mr. Lucas' diaries are owned by The Peabody Institute.

[51] Frank Frick, 1828-1910, of Baltimore, a traveller and a great patron of music; he may be said to have introduced chamber music to Baltimore; his papers belong to The Peabody Institute and also his collection of scores.

health is good. I am still modeling Mr. Walters figure [52] & if I donot finish it this month I will next. During the winter I modeled five busts & got a commission for a six hundred dollar figure which was not so bad. What kind of a winter next will be no one can tell. I feel we are here right upon the top of a Political volcano which might burst out any day although every thing is quiet. . . .

With the heat & hard work I am almost tired to death so you must excuse me for my short letter

Remember me to you Father Mother & the rest of the family treat Lewis to a sherry cobler & charge it to me Remember me also to your uncle Brantz My love to Ned Mc D. Harley Miller & others take good care of you ring worm & think occasionally of your old friend,

Wm H. Rinehart

F B Mayer

What a sleepy state I am in you may judge from this letter.

(*To be continued*)

[52] The Woman of Samaria, now at The Walters Art Gallery.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions under Which It Grew. By GEORGE MACLAREN BRYDON, D. D. Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1947. 571 pp. $7.50.

Virginia's Mother Church is a most valuable and significant contribution to the history of the Church of England in the Virginia Colony. The title is arresting and Dr. George MacLaren Brydon tells us in the Author's Preface why it is so named.

"The title, 'Virginia's Mother Church' has been chosen as being the most accurate description of the condition which existed throughout the whole period under consideration. The Church of England was the only organized and continuing form of religion which ministered throughout the whole colony all the time. The only other body with any notable strength were the Quakers, who first began coming into the colony during the period of the Commonwealth, and who continued to grow throughout the rest of the period. There had been a number of Puritans in the colony during the time of the civil wars in England, but these had gone. The Baptists and the Presbyterians were just making the first beginnings as the period came to a close. Throughout the whole period, the spiritual care and religious instruction of the people of Virginia were almost entirely in the hands of the Church which had come with the first settlers, and which had grown and spread *pari passu* with the growth and expansion of the colony itself."

The sub-title, "An Interpretation of the Records of the Colony of Virginia and of the Anglican Church of That Colony 1607-1727," is an accurate description of the volume. Interpretation it is, and that by a most careful and competent historian. Dr. Brydon is perhaps more familiar with the records of the early days of the Church of England in Virginia than any other living person. His knowledge, however, is not that of a mere specialist who has confined himself to a restricted and limited field. Rather is the knowledge set against a vast background, and related to the entire life of the Colony. As one reads the story of the planting and growth of the Church of England during the years of the first century of its life in Virginia, he becomes conscious of the fact that he is reading not merely the history of that Church, but that history in the midst of the life of a people growing into nationhood in a rich land. It is the story of the Church, of course, but along with that story is one

of the establishment of a Colony of the Mother Land, developing her own representative Government. Many hitherto widely held ideas are shown to be erroneous. For example, the idea that the founding of the Virginia Colony was done by men fleeing from laws which they felt to be unjust, is shown to be incorrect. Dr. Brydon deals conclusively with this in his chapter on "Conditions in the Mother Country." He sums it up in a few sentences in his introduction when he says:

"The men who founded Virginia were not fleeing from laws that they felt to be unjust. They planned to establish and develop in Virginia a full and well-rounded life as they had lived it at home, leaving behind them nothing of English ways except her ecclesiastical courts and repressive laws. Naturally they expected trade and the amassing of wealth for themselves and for the members and stockholders of the Virginia Company who had made the venture possible. They made the abortive beginnings of ventures in manufacturing: glass, iron, silk, cordage. They brought their religion, as the soul of their race, and never from the beginning was there any idea that their forms of worship should be any other than those of the Church of England, their own Mother Church. They brought their national ways and customs, their ideals of education and culture, and strove for these things in spite of every adverse circumstance."

Another widely held and oft-repeated idea is that Virginia was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. The author makes what seems to be a perfectly good case, showing that the Colony never was, in a technical sense, a part of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. The volume is rich in statistics, but it is never tedious; it is crowded with details, but these are so deftly and skillfully handled and so interestingly woven into the story, that one is aware only of the movement and development of a people's life.

In addition to his careful scholarship, Dr. Brydon is blessed with the ability to describe and interpret his material in language that is both lucid and arresting. The language is so carefully chosen, and the style so limpid that the story seems to tell itself. The historic personages move across the stage, and one comes to know them and to enter in their life and feel something of their emotion.

Virginia's Mother Church is an altogether worthwhile volume both for the careful historian and also for the casual reader, who would know something of the origin and development of what we are pleased to call today, *The American Way of Life.* Dr. Brydon has rendered a conspicuous and lasting service in the preparation of this most interesting volume.

Noble C. Powell, D. D.

The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry, 1780-1860. By JAMES WESTON LIVINGOOD. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947. 195 pp. $1.00.

There are two remarkable things about this excellent book: first, that it considers an important economic relationship between two neighboring cities and their hinterlands; and second, that it was published through the generosity of a public agency, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Both aspects of the book are gratifying and encouraging to those who wish to see sound historical progress in the analysis of the development of the Middle Atlantic region. Probably the history of no section of the country is so little known and so poorly described as that of the New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland area, an integrated economic and cultural region of the United States. Too often historians have ignored the obvious fact that political boundaries are little more than barriers to the natural interchange of trade and ideas between similar groups of people. In fact, we are proud in America that our state boundaries require no passports, invoke no tariffs, and mark no special religious, racial and language areas. Why then should the historian assume that state boundaries have any great significance in the general patterns of history? Rather than glorify the fictitious distinctions between one state—or city—and another, the historian should endeavor to explain the natural interrelationships and acculturation between places and peoples. Dr. Livingood and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission deserve the highest praise, the one for writing such an history, the other for possessing the vision and courage in publishing it.

The general theme of the book revolves about the curious geography of the Susquehanna river valley. Although lying almost wholly in Pennsylvania, the river disgorges into Maryland. Moreover, mountain barriers prevented easy traffic between Philadelphia and the valley in the early days, while the river served as a great highway from lower New York state and central Pennsylvania to Baltimore—Baltimore becoming the natural terminus of the river in the days before efficient overland transportation. Quite naturally the Philadelphia merchants strove to overcome this natural advantage of Baltimore, and thus the story runs through the promotion of turnpikes, canals and railroads, through selfish restrictive laws which hurt both Pennsylvania and Maryland, and despite all, through the evolution of a profitable and useful commerce which enriched both.

Fully realizing that the book is avowedly concerned with economic matters and that as a pioneer study it does not pretend to be comprehensive, I would like to mildly question its preoccupation with only one phase of history. Just as it is unreal to discuss the history of one state without reference to its important neighbors, so also does it lack reality to discuss economic history without reference to social, cultural and political history. For instance, Dr. Livingood mentions once that many people had come to Baltimore from the Susquehanna valley to take up commerce, but he does not follow up this extremely suggestive line of thought and its possible

effect on commercial relations. The fact is that some of the greatest Baltimore merchants—the Smiths, Calhouns, Ellicotts and others—were from Lancaster county, and it is not a far guess to believe that they had strong family connections in Pennsylvania which smoothed and perpetuated their trade with the valley long after it may have been better suited to Philadelphia. Habit and reputation play important parts in business relations. But I have no desire to quarrel with the author for it is not his fault that no adequate study has yet been made of early Baltimore history. The material is voluminous and easily obtained at the Maryland Historical Society and elsewhere—but where are the students? Rather, we must thank Dr. Livingood for his valuable contribution to the knowledge of *our* city in its proper perspective relationship with its neighbor and rival, Philadelphia.

The Commission has given a valuable precedent to Maryland and Baltimore authorities—a precedent which we can only hope to see followed here.

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

The First Captain: The Story of John Paul Jones. By GERALD W. JOHNSON. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1947. 312 pp. $3.50.

"He was a gaudy fellow," Mr. Johnson begins his book—and so sets its tempo. He gives us the story of our first authentic naval hero (but was he the first captain?), who lashed his *Bon Homme Richard* to the British *Serapis*, kept the pumps going, and said, when somebody asked if he had struck his flag, "Struck, sir? No, I have just begun to fight!"

He was a gaudy fellow, and not just in time of battle. There are, as Shand remarked to the countess, few more impressive sights in the world than a Scotsman on the make. It is absorbing to follow the career and adventures that took John Paul, later calling himself Jones, halfway around the world. He was lionized at the Court of France, and they liked him, too, at the Court of Catherine the Great; but his native country indicted him for murder and the country of his adoption, these United States, blocked him and checked him at every turn. He wanted—far more than he wanted just to beat the Turks or the British—to build a great Navy that would be a peacetime implement as well as a weapon of war. But it was many years after his death that we began to realize he had established the Navy's standards for morale and study and manners and diplomacy, as well as for courage in tight places, and that he had said something else to naval officers coming along, ". . . in doing my utmost, I am sensible that I have done no more than my duty."

Mr. Johnson writes, as always, interestingly and well, with the warm enthusiasm for his subject that makes subjects come alive. He is not always a logician, some historical judgments are superficial, and people who did not appreciate the captain are often sharply dealt with. Their politics are "swinish," and Gouveneur Morris (for instance) is "the

most incredible ass that ever brayed his way to a dubious immortality in American history." John Paul Jones could have used such a partisan in his lifetime.

This is the first Jones biography in many years. Writing it, Mr. Johnson has been handicapped by the scarcity of primary-source material and by the unreliability of earlier biographies. He himself makes the most valid criticism of his own book when he says, of the subject, " . . . Mahan himself cannot explain him. Admiral and raw recruit alike can only wonder and admire.

" Nor will any prudent biographer undertake to do more. John Paul Jones was the captain in the United States Navy who said, ' I have just begun to fight ' when all the world was certain that he was already whipped. When all is said and done, that is the story, and all the rest is mere elaboration of the great central fact."

ELLEN HART SMITH

The American Language: Supplement II. By H. L. MENCKEN. New York: Knopf, 1948. 890 pp. $7.50.

When, in 1936, the fourth edition of *The American Language* appeared, the average reader might well have felt that the author, having completed that monumental work, had earned the right to descend to less strenuous efforts, or even to cease from labor and enter upon the contemplative life. Not so Mr. Mencken. Without waiting for the ink to dry on the fourth edition, he returned to the task, published *Supplement I,* and has now completed *Supplement II*, a formidable volume of nearly 900 pages.

There is a statement in the preface to the effect that although voluminous notes remain unpublished, no further supplements are contemplated. We shall see. In the preface also, Mr. Mencken, with characteristic modesty, denies any claim to profundity, preferring to be regarded as a journalist interested in language. That *Supplement II*, like the former volumes, is good reporting, readable, concise, clear, and accurate, is undeniable, but there is also abundant evidence of the profound scholarship which the author disclaims.

Supplement II brings up to date chapters VII through XI of *The American Language.* The new material contains the results of further studies in the history of the language, and a summary of the developments of the last twelve years, including those which have resulted from World War II and its attendant phenomena. Much of the material is straight reporting, in which further data is brought to bear upon topics treated in *The American Language.* There are also, however, commentaries on such matters as the futile striving of " peewee pedants " to preserve the language, like an embryo, in the formaldehyde of school textbooks, rendering it as dead as Classical Latin or Gothic, and the persistent but ineffectual efforts of the apostles of simplified spelling. Scholarship is not a prerequisite to the enjoyment of the book. It is good reading. In the

chapter on proper names, lists which combine the pathetic and the ludicrous are presented as manifestations of the national culture. The brief discussion of place names prompts the hope that the author will give his readers further benefit of his obviously extensive knowledge of the subject, especially as it pertains to Maryland. Another good section is that dealing with the vivid argot employed in various trades, sports, etc. A comprehensive index and a "List of Words and Phrases" contribute to ease in using the book. This volume is a fitting companion to its predecessors, and is, like them, an indispensable part of the library of every one interested in our language.

W. Bird Terwilliger

Twelfth Annual Report of the Archivist of the Hall of Records. By Morris L. Radoff. Annapolis: [Hall of Records Commission], 1947. 51 pp.

To those who are already cognizant of rapid increase in the size of its collections and noteworthy improvement in both facilities and service, the Maryland Hall of Records needs neither apologist nor propagandist. For those who are unfamiliar with its affairs or wish to note recent changes and acquisitions, however, this latest "progress report" will prove an illuminating exposition of its varied activities, ranging from problems of staff and budget to those of repair, photocopying, and research.

Two subjects treated in this report are especially important to those engaged in research in Maryland history: accessions from public and private sources for the fiscal year 1946-47 and a new section entitled "Extent and Character of Services Rendered." The latter contains a brief explanation of the types of service performed by the Hall of Records staff together with comment on those types it is unable at present to perform. In the interest of proper utilization of these archives this constitutes a welcome statement of policy.

John Ralph Lambert, Jr.

A Catalogue of the Work of William Henry Rinehart, Maryland Sculptor, 1825-1874. By Marvin Chauncey Ross and Anna Wells Rutledge, with a Foreword by Douglas H. Gordon. Baltimore: The Peabody Institute and The Walters Art Gallery [1948]. 74 pp., 48 plates. Cloth $6.10, paper $3.85.

A Catalogue of the Work of William Henry Rinehart, Maryland Sculptor, 1825-1874, which was published at the time of the opening, May 17, 1948, of the Rinehart Exhibition at the Walters Art Gallery, is not only an important contribution to the history of Maryland art, but also serves as a guide to the exhibition itself. This scholarly record of Rinehart's work by Marvin Ross of the Walters and Anna Wells Rutledge of the Peabody Institute is published by the Peabody and the Walters which

organized jointly the current exhibition of Rinehart's sculpture. In this catalogue will be found a complete and fully annotated list of all the work of Rinehart which he is known to have executed as well as descriptive notes on his sculpture which the authors have traced. It is illustrated with forty-eight well-executed plates, showing nearly a hundred examples of his work. Many of these are on exhibition.

The commanding position of Rinehart as a mid-nineteenth century American sculptor requires no comment here. It seems fitting that recognition, even though belated, of Rinehart's talents be accorded by the Peabody Institute and the Walters Art Gallery. Both institutions have a traditional association with him. It was due to William T. Walters, the founder of the Art Gallery that Rinehart's artistic abilities were first discovered, and it was through aid given him by Walters that he was sent to Italy to study sculpture. The Peabody Institute is the trustee of the fund which Rinehart left for the education of ambitious young students of sculpture.

J. H. P.

Descendants of Virginia Calverts. Compiled by ELLA FOY O'GORMAN. [Los Angeles: the Author], 1947. 766 pp. $10.00.

This monumental compilation relating to the descendants of Leonard Calvert, first Governor of Maryland, includes not only records of undisputed authenticity but also a wide range of more or less traditional material. The author has wisely gathered all the information she could find, even though not susceptible of proof. Utilizing family records collected 40 years ago by a cousin, the book embraces also the results of a study of some 20 years by the author. Since no descendants of Leonard Calvert are believed to live today in Maryland, the great majority of them being scattered through the near and far West, the book is perhaps of less interest to Maryland than might be expected. The results, however, of her thorough sweep place all future searchers in Mrs. O'Gorman's debt.

Descendants of Maryland's first Governor, of course, trace their pedigrees through his grandchildren who settled in Stafford and Prince William Counties, Va. The author has followed the migrations of their offspring into Kentucky, South Carolina, Missouri, Ohio, West Virginia, Arkansas, Illinois, Tennessee, Texas and other states. The book is well organized and supplied with an excellent index. (It may be ordered from the author, Care J. Walter Thompson Co., 535 Griswold Street, Detroit 26, Mich.).

JAMES W. FOSTER

Ye Fountain Inn Diary. By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1948. 112 pp. $2.50.

This pleasant account of the visits of George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and other celebrities, to Baltimore was prepared by Dr. Matthew Page Andrews, shortly before his death in 1947.

It serves to memorialize the unusual historical associations of the site of the present Southern Hotel, site also of the Carrollton Hotel, 1872-1904, and prior to that of the Fountain Inn. The book has been brought out by the hotel company, of which Mr. A. J. Fink is president, in celebration of the 175th anniversary of the opening of the original Inn. Copies were presented to guests at the banquet held on Washington's birthday, 1948, and are being offered for sale.

The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877. By E. Merton Coulter. (*A History of the South*, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, Vol. VIII.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947. xii, 426 pp. $5.00.

This is a revisionist study, scholarly and well written. In his preface, the author declares that students of the period "until recently have let the reconstruction processes crowd out of their narratives everyday developments in the lives of the people." He contends that only in stressing social history does his work "lay claim to have revised older treatments of the Southern Reconstruction period"; and he concludes by warning that, since he has chosen to work in the "atmosphere and spirit of the times," he should not be condemned for having refused to measure the South during Reconstruction by "mid-twentieth century standards."

Professor Coulter failed to heed his own warning in the body of his text, and he can hardly expect anyone else to do so. The historian is primarily interested in the past because knowledge thereof is of value in shaping present day opinion and in making decisions on current economic, social, and political problems. The author has judged the South by a single set of mid-twentieth century standards. His interpretation will be applauded by men who concur with Congressman John Rankin and Governor James Folsom in their attitude toward the Negro question, the South, and the nation. So far as the study is read and believed in the South, it will further the revolt against the Democratic party and President Truman's Civil Rights program.

To this end, the author has submerged contrary facts and points of view. Yet, he is too honest a scholar to have blacked them out altogether. Even in the South of the Reconstruction period there were honest Radical Republicans, Negro and white, who did constructive work. One curious example will suffice. Members of the Radical constituent assemblies, says Professor Coulter (pp. 133-135), were fraudently selected. They "put the stamp of the North upon most of the constitutions which were made"; most of these law makers were "dishonest," "truculent," "loud talking," "could not read," and "took orders explicitly from their Carpetbagger mentors." Their end products, none the less, "turned out much better than the Southerners had ever hoped for; in fact, some of them were kept for many years after the Southern whites again got control of their governments."

Princeton University Jeter A. Isely

Colonists in Bondage. White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776. By ABBOT EMERSON SMITH. Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburgh, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1947. viii, 435 pp. $5.00.

Under the arresting title, *Colonists in Bondage*, the author treats the topic of white servitude in the whole of British North America from Jamestown to Independence. Beginning in Part I with a useful account of the trade in servants, he explores the European conditions of the subject. Against the "controlling factors" of the trade—the colonial demand for labor and the profits from transporting both indentured servants and redemptioners—he reviews such special topics as the problems of raising a cargo, propaganda to encourage emigration, practices of recruiting agents, and the institution of controls to protect unwilling persons from illegal transportation. Part II, the longest in the book, deals with penal servitude under three principal headings: the transportation of convicts, of rogues and vagabonds, and of political and military prisoners. The concluding section, Part III, is an account of the servant in the plantations from his arrival, through his servitude, to his achievement of freedom.

The underlying research of this volume covered the dozen years following the author's first work on the subject as a Rhodes scholar in 1930. As with other scholarly projects, World War II and service in the armed forces compelled a delay in its final revision and publication. During the gestation period of the book, however, the author contributed two notable articles to the literature of his subject (*American Historical Review*, XXXIX and XL).

Professor Smith does greatest service to our colonial history in the thorough treatment of the European, particularly the British, aspects of servitude. Previous studies have attempted to cover only fragments of the area or brief episodes. His generalizations deserve careful attention because of the more complete evidence presented here. Without discounting poverty at home as a motive for seeking a fuller opportunity overseas, the author offers a more refined theory. Recurrent emigration crazes, which swept waves of moderately prosperous persons to the colonies, neither satisfied the demand for settlers nor provided the constant stream desired (pp. 45 ff.). "It was the problem of the colonial proprietor, the merchant, seamen, or emigrant agent to draw recruits from the great reservoir of population which existed in poverty at home, to persuade or encourage men to sign up as servants, to induce perhaps a local attack of emigration fever in some German town, and to raise a cargo of laborers and settlers for the colonies" (p. 52). The story has been carefully and convincingly reconstructed from a wealth of materials in the Public Record Office, judicial records, public archives and family papers.

Servitude in the American setting has been more thoroughly investi-

gated for particular colonies by McCormic, Ballagh, Bassett, and Herrick to whom indebtedness is acknowledged. New materials from the author's researches are presented, without significant modification of previous views, in Part III which rounds out the treatment of the subject and brings together the best monographic material cemented with the author's thinking.

This volume should find special welcome among Marylanders. The provincial economy, law, land system (before 1683), and public finance were intimately tied up with the white bondsmen who formed a significant part of the labor force during their servitude and who provided a stream of independent farmers and artisans when freed. In time some rose into the ranks of the provincial squirearchy. Daniel Dulany, distinguished lawyer and man of affairs, began his career in Maryland under indenture. Into the labor force of the colony Maryland received considerable numbers of all types of bondsmen: indentured servants, redemptioners, political and military prisoners, and convicts—these last in spite of protests and strenuous opposition.

A compilation of available statistics on white servants entering the colonies, a critical bibliography, and an index enhance the usefulness of this volume.

AUBREY C. LAND

Carnegie Institute of Technology

Thomas Jefferson Among the Arts. By ELEANOR DAVIDSON BERMAN. Introduction by HORACE M. KALLEN. New York: Philosophical Society [1947]. xviii, 305 pp. $3.75.

Henry Adams's well known opinion that Jefferson could not be described in a parenthesis but rather would require a description fashioned "touch by touch, with a fine pencil" (Adams, *History*, I, 277) is amply borne out by Doctor Berman's *Thomas Jefferson Among the Arts.*

There is much of the "touch by touch" and enough of the "fine pencil" in the author's treatment of the subject to show how great our debt of gratitude is to Jefferson, who approached the arts "with an honest heart and a knowing head" (p. 213). Clearly portrayed is the Jefferson who longed to improve the artistic taste of his countrymen, knew European art trends, and gave his allegiance to Palladian classicism in architecture and to democratic and naturalistic styles in the pictorial, plastic, musical, and literary arts. The reader senses Jefferson's unending enthusiasm in bringing art into the service of his country. It was his belief that art was useful in providing outlets for accumulations of wealth, overcoming the ennui of old age, strengthening the mind, and enriching life. He was convinced that art could lead toward freedom and freedom toward happiness.

It is disappointing that with its many merits Doctor Berman's book, nevertheless, suffers from several defects. The organization of the material shows too much of its framework. Numerous repetitions and a

profusion of quotations, especially from secondary works, frequently interrupt the flow of thought. The historian will bridle at the description of Jefferson as "the penman of the Revolution" (p. 229), for both his contemporaries and posterity have commonly accorded John Dickinson that designation (Tyler, *Literary History of American Revolution*, II, 24). Moreover, no explanation nor justification for the author's statement can be found in the source given in her footnote.

In spite of its shortcomings, the book fulfills its purpose of enabling the reader to see Jefferson among the arts and to appreciate how valuable he was in that rôle to his country and to mankind.

NORMAN H. DAWES

Carnegie Institute of Technology

Gilman Walls Will Echo: The Story of the Gilman Country School, 1897-1947. By BRADFORD MCE. JACOBS. Baltimore: [Gilman School], 1947, 131 pp.

This book is close to the ideal of what a history of a preparatory school should be. Mr. Jacobs has taken his task seriously, but has written with contagious enthusiasm and lightness of touch. He has sought to tell what has made the institution tick. With a firm grasp on the essentials of management and finance, he has traced in fluent prose the major developments from the somewhat casual start in 1897, when a group of women led by Mrs. Frances King Carey determined to promote a boy's school in the country. There is appropriate emphasis on the accomplishments, and sometimes shortcomings, of the eight successive headmasters. The story of the school is presented essentially in terms of administration, surely the appropriate point of view. Alumni may feel that student activities have been slighted now and then, but the full story of athletic literary, dramatic and social events could not have been given without greatly expanding the book. As it is, all these phases come in for brief mention.

The institution and the author are to be commended for completion of the task and the attractive book in which it is contained.

JAMES W. FOSTER

The Dixie Frontier, a Social History of the Southern Frontier from the First Transmontane Beginnings to the Civil War. By EVERETT DICK. New York: Knopf, 1948. 374, [xxvi] pp. $4.50.

This colorful social study of a cultural region emphasizes the common everyday experiences of a pioneer people whose characteristics were modified by a harsh and coarse environment. Although these characteristics are presented as distinctly southern, they are treated as typically frontier phenomena and there is no contrast to show how the southern reaction differed from that of any other similar area.

The "Dixie frontier" is defined as an area which had for its core the present states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and the book is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of this part of the Upper South. The contiguous territory, less intensively covered by the author, consists of a small portion of southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois; all of Missouri and Arkansas; northern Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama; western Georgia; and northern Florida. A remarkable uniformity is implied for the area, from southern Illinois to northern Florida.

The cultural traits are presented topically in a series of short chapters which cover a great variety of subject matter. Frontier agriculture, education, speech, customs, dress, sports, religion, methods of travel and types of amusement are all vividly portrayed. Many excerpts from extensive manuscripts sources are effectively used to give a first-hand impression of the region.

The whole era from the arrival of the earliest trappers to the advent of the Civil War is considered a period of crudity and physical discomfort. However, if the rural South is deglamorized, it is given in return a more realistic charm of its own in terms easily recognizable in survivals in the area today in architecture, customs, manners, and speech.

JEAN E. KEITH

The Johns Hopkins University

The Diary of James T. Ayers, Civil War Recruiter. Edited with an introduction by JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN. (Occasional Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society, [No. 50]). Springfield, Illinois: 1947. xxv, 138 pp.

A Methodist lay preacher from Illinois, James T. Ayers, enlisted in the Union Army in 1862. In December, 1863, he was appointed special recruiter of Negro troops in the occupied portions of Alabama and Tennessee. At this time he began a diary, which continued until May, 1865.

The diary might have brought new light on this Union attempt to use the freed slaves but it does not fulfill that hope. There is far too little of Ayers' career as an agent and too much of his confused emotionalism. More information on his recruiting efforts and fewer of his pathetic literary and oratorical efforts might have made his diary a revealing case history. In the final analysis, Ayers was temperamentally incapable of reporting events reliably, particularly those in which he participated.

The residual value of the diary is limited to its incidental picture of wartime conditions. Ayers was disturbed by the contradictions of Army policy and the apathy of the Negroes. Ultimately he resigned in disgust; his early concern for the ex-slaves as human beings had so weakened under growing exasperation that he forgot them and became simply a narrow, vindictive flag waver. This partisan obsession seems suggestive of a widespread disintegration of popular idealism during the course of the war.

Since Ayers wrote with little regard for spelling and punctuation, Dr. Franklin has made minor editorial changes in the text for the sake of clarity, without sacrificing its appealing authenticity. His consultation of source materials has provided helpful annotations and an evidence of critical scholarship for this minor vignette of a period of tension and change.

GUSTAVUS G. WILLIAMSON, JR.

The Johns Hopkins University

Commodore Thomas Truxton, 1755-1822. By EUGENE S. FERGUSON. Philadelphia: The Free Library of Philadelphia, 1947. 31 pp.

Thomas Truxton, the first commander of the *U. S. F. Constellation*, was more than just a naval officer. He was, in addition, a China trader in his early years and a somewhat "idle gentleman" in his later life. This pamphlet is a brief description of the letters written by Truxton to Charles Biddle of Philadelphia which are now in the possession of the Free Library of Philadelphia. The letters, previously unpublished, furnish new materials on Truxtun's personal life and in particular his reactions to world events after his retirement from the Navy. Of interest to Marylanders is his somewhat contemptuous remark that Betsey Patterson should marry the son of Sir Charles Oakly for "to be the wife of a man of such connections is more honourable than a Dutchess and Mistress to Jerome. . . ." The Free Library of Philadelphia is to be commended for making available even this brief description of Truxtun's letters. It will, indeed, be a treat to read Mr. Ferguson's full-length biography of Truxtun when it becomes available.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Casimir Pulaski. By WLADYSLAW KONOPCZYNSKI. Translated from Polish by Irena Makarewicz. (Annals of the Polish R. C. Union, Archives and Museum, Vol. XI). Chicago: Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, 1947. [64] pp. 50 cents.

Since the banner of the Pulaski Legion is one of the most cherished possessions of the Maryland Historical Society, Marylanders cannot be indifferent to the biography of the Legion's organizer, Casimir Pulaski. This pamphlet explains and evaluates Pulaski's efforts to secure both Polish and American independence. To Americans, says Professor Konopzynski, Pulaski is to be remembered as "the Father of American Cavalry," while Poles and Americans alike cannot forget his beliefs in "freedom, the republic, and independence." The author's statement that the Sisters at Bethlehem gave the Legion its banner can be disproven (p. 52). Richard H. Spencer writing on the "Role of Pulaski's Legion," in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XIII, says that the banner was presented to the Legion by the patriotic women of Baltimore. Nevertheless, the publication of this biography of Pulaski calls attention to the need for a more adequate treatment of his life.

F. F. W.

Pages from the Story of an Ancient Parish: Sketch of St. Aloysius' Parish, Leonardtown, Maryland. By EDWARD A. RYAN, S. J. Foreword by Louis A. Wheeler, S. J. Leonardtown, 1947. 31 pp.

This booklet was published for the centennial of the building of St. Aloysius' Catholic Church, Leonardtown. It recounts not only the religious history of the parish but also its social and economic history as well. Although brief, the story is important since the parish is located in one of the predominantly Catholic counties in the United States and in the region where English-speaking Catholics "first learned to live as Catholics and Americans."

F. F. W.

Bulletin of the Historical Society of Carroll County, Maryland. Theodore M. Whitfield, Thomas F. Marshall, and Samuel M. Jenness, Editorial Committee. Westminster, Md.: Carroll County Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1948. 54 pp. $1.00.

The publication of a new historical journal is always a welcome occasion. Especially so, when it is a Maryland journal since one of the purposes of the Maryland Historical Society is to encourage historical activities throughout the State. This particular journal has for its stated aims the preservation of the history of Carroll County and the awakening of increased interest in the past.

The editors have brought out a very commendable first issue. The cover immediately attracts attention and the type used makes it a pleasure to read. Although the one article has been previously published, the editors are to be congratulated for their encouragement of local talent and the publication of an account of the very beginnings of the county. The editors neglected to tell us how often to expect their publication. Otherwise, their job is well done.

F. F. W.

Backward Glances at Georgetown, with Anecdotes of Famous Washingtonians and their Georgetown Homes. By JOSEPHINE DAVIS LEARY. Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1947. (Copyright by the author). 68 pp. $2.00.

This book has the merit of being exactly what the title professes it to be. Undoubtedly the contemporaries of the writer and their children will wish for more detail and a wider horizon. The way of life has so changed that all such records have become particularly valuable.

The style is concise and readable; the illustrations interesting and suggestive; but the lack of captions is to be regretted. The format of the book has the excellence we have come to expect of those quasi-historical volumes that have a Richmond, Va., imprint.

LUCY LEIGH BOWIE

NOTES AND QUERIES

Parker Genealogical Award

The prize for the best compilation of family pedigrees submitted during the year 1947 for the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Award, established in 1946 by Mrs. Parker, has been given to Mrs. Faith S. Daskam of Washington, D. C., for her work, "Reese-Lee and Allied Families of Pennsylvania and Maryland." This is a manuscript of 329 pages, to which an excellent index has been added. It embraces also the lines of Evans, Maulsby, Rhodes, Atkinson, Croasdale, Smith and Tomlinson families. The judges were Mr. William B. Marye, Chairman, Mrs. Thomas S. George and Miss Louise E. Magruder.

Since this contribution was outstanding in comprehensiveness and organization, the judges voted unanimously to award but one prize. The cash value for the 1947 contest amounted to $25.00 and check for this amount has been sent to Mrs. Daskam.

Other entries in the contest were as follows: Gunnell line of Virginia, Gunnell-Broadwater-Hunter families, of Virginia; Estep lines, of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina; and Stewart, Trevillian, Custis and Fooks, of Maryland and Virginia.

The 1948 contest will close on Dec. 31st. Manuscript compilations submitted should be typed and clearly marked with names of entrants. Preference will be given to papers concerned with Maryland families. Fullness will be considered. As previously announced, the awards for 1948 have a total value of $50.

Historical Essay Contest—To stimulate interest in the American Colonial period, its family and community life and its great event and figures, the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York offers a cash award of $250 for the best essay on a subject connected with that period. The Contest will be open to any citizen of the United States who submits to the Society an essay conforming to the following conditions: 1. Essays must be based upon documents, records, manuscripts, or other material, not hitherto published, and shall relate to a phase of the American Colonial period between the founding of Jamestown, Virginia, May 13, 1607, and the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775. 2. Each essay submitted shall contain, as a supplement, a list of the material used, citing volume and page where possible, with the names and addresses of the persons or organizations having custody of such material. 3. All essays receiving the award or honorable mention shall become the property of the Society,

with the right to publish them in its discretion. 4. Each essay submitted must be typewritten or printed. An essay previously used, or expected to be used, for a college or high school course theme, or Doctor's or Master's thesis, may be submitted. In general, 5,000 words will be considered adequate treatment, but this limit is not a controlling condition. 5. The Contest will close December 31, 1948. For further information write

Messmore Kendall,
122 E. 58th St., New York 22, N. Y.

Vincent—Can any one tell me the name of the mother or grandmother of William Barton Vincent, who was born in Port Tobacco, Md., June 21, 1806?

He claimed that he was a direct descendant of one of LaFayette's followers. He was raised by his aunts or great aunts Hungerford. They were the children of Barton and Jane Warren Hungerford. All his children by his first wife were named for these people. Thomas Warren, Mary Jane Hungerford and Sarah Warren, but my Grandmother was named Maria Jones Vincent. The one thing he could remember most in his childhood was standing on the porch of his aunts' home and watching the British warships come up the Potomac in the war of 1812.

Mary C. Clark,
827 E St., S. E., Washington 3, D. C.

Griffin—Wanted: information regarding the parentage of Robert Burns Griffin of Baltimore, wholesale boot and shoe merchant. Born 5 Dec. 1810, (at Back River Lower Hundred?) ; m. Elizabeth Hayes of Baltimore, 7 Nov. 1833, M. E. Church; d. 3 April 1879; buried Greenmount. For 11 chil. 1834-58, see *Maryland Historical and General Bulletin*, July 1947, and Jan. 1948. Was he son of Phillip Griffin of Baltimore (1782-1854) ?

R. G. Smith,
704 S. Arl. Mill Dr., Arlington, Va.

Correction—" Lieut.-Col. Sayer " referred to in Washington's General Orders, Sept. 16, 1776, mentioned on p. 19, *Maryland Historical Magazine* for March, 1948, is evidently intended for Lieut.-Col. Henry Shryock, officer of the 1st Battalion, Maryland Flying Camp. See James McSherry, *History of Maryland* (1852), Appendix B, p. 382—Lucy Leigh Bowie.

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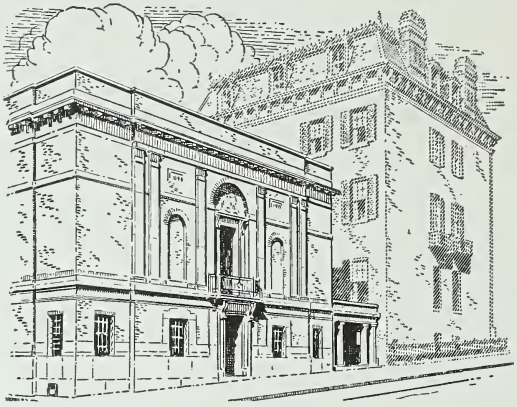

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Amelung Mansion, New Bremen, Frederick County

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BALTIMORE

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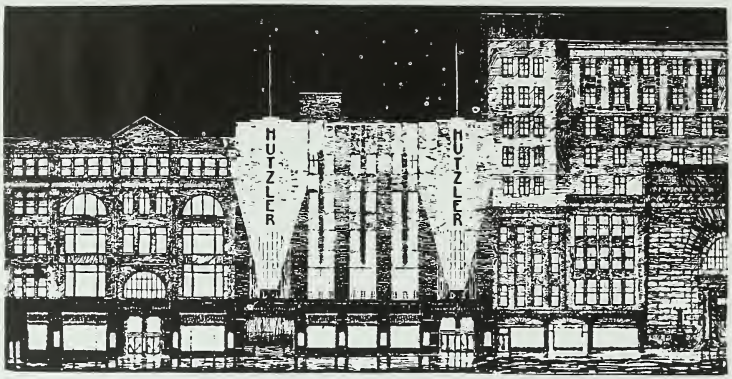

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VOL. XLIII, NO. 3 SEPTEMBER, 1948

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Annual Subscription to the Magazine $3.00. Each issue 75c. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

James W. Foster, Editor.
John Ralph Lambert, Jr., Associate Editor.

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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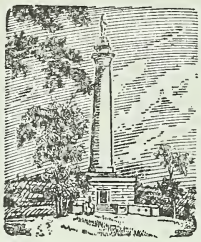

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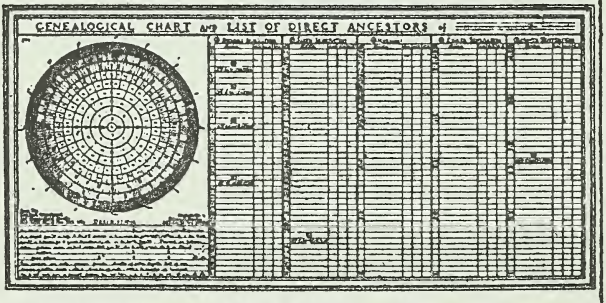

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLIII SEPTEMBER, 1948 Number 3

JOHANN FRIEDRICH AMELUNG AT NEW BREMEN

By Dorothy Mackay Quynn

AMONG the many persons who attempted to set up manufacturing enterprises in the newly established United States of America, was Johann Friedrich Amelung. Late in May, 1784, Amelung started a sixteen week voyage from Bremen to Baltimore, where he landed on the last day of August.[1] He brought his family with him, including his wife, Magdelina Carolina Amelung, a son, Johann Friedrich Magnus, and three daughters, Fredericka, Sophia Christine Dorothea, and Johanna.[2] Frau Ame-

[1] Such detail as we have concerning the dates and length of the voyage are taken from a pamphlet, John F. Amelung, *Remarks on Manufactures, Principally in the New Established Glass-House near Fredericktown in the State of Maryland* (Printed for the author, 1787). The only original known is in the library of the Boston Athenaeum. The Maryland Historical Society and the Pratt Library in Baltimore have photostats. The writer is grateful to the Pratt Library for a positive photostat made from their negative.

[2] The names of members of the family have been established by studying the records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Frederick, the Zion Lutheran Church of Baltimore, and obituary announcements in Baltimore papers. Mr. James

lung's sister, Wilhelmina Griepenkerl accompanied them. Amelung was under contract to a group of Bremen banking houses which had invested £10,000 in a scheme to start one or more glass manufacturing establishments in America They had chartered the ship *Fame*, and loaded on board the machinery for three "Glass Ovens." Amelung undertook to recruit experienced workers from Bohemia and Thuringia, the areas in which the German glass industry flourished. The workers were to join the ship in Bremen in the spring of 1784.[3]

Nothing is known of Amelung's earlier life, and there seems to be no basis for the supposition that he was a person of wealth and position. In none of his papers or those of his son, is there any evidence or mention of a personal fortune, although a great deal is said about his financial affairs. Since the cost of the enterprise during the first five years reached some £20,000, the remaining money, over and above the bankers' investment of £10,000, may have come from other sources.[4] Frau Amelung and Frau Griepenkerl contributed $2500, if we accept the statement of Amelung's son.[5] Some may have come from the sale of glass. Amelung's son said that his mother and aunt had inherited land in Germany, which they sold in order to finance the trip to America, and they had contracted with Amelung for reimbursement with land of equal value in America. Because of this, Frau Amelung and Frau Griepenkerl were considered by the family to be the real owners of the land on which the glass-works were built.

Foster, Director of the Maryland Historical Society, kindly allowed me to use notes he had made on some members of the family from the Land Records and Records of the Orphans' Court in Baltimore. The writer also studied these records for individuals not covered by Mr. Foster. In the nineteenth century there were other Amelung families in Baltimore, which necessitates eliminating from our list all names not accompanied by proof of relationship. There is one slight possibility that Amelung's family included two daughters and his sister, instead of three daughters. See note 17 below.

[3] Amelung, *Remarks on Manufactures, passim.* In 1801, John Frederick Magnus Amelung prepared a long statement which is filed among the Chancery Records, MS 1767 in the Land Office, Hall of Records, Annapolis. In this document he referred to his aunt's arrangements to accompany her sister. She was only nineteen at the time, and had sold her German property, apparently an inheritance which she shared with her sister, to finance the trip.

[4] Petition of John Frederick Amelung, May 26, 1790, Records of U. S. Senate 1st. Congress, 2nd Session, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[5] This statement may be unreliable because of the conditions under which it was made. In the course of the litigation over his father's estate John Frederick Magnus Amelung attempted to justify a large payment to his aunt, and an annuity of $200 which he had settled on his mother, claiming the exemption of these two items from the assets of the business. One of his creditors contested these payments as fraudulent efforts to cheat the creditors.

As in all schemes for establishments in the new world, the crying need was for labor. Amelung was spared the problem of earlier entrepreneurs, who had recruited unwilling or unskilled workers as indentured servants, who might, at the will of the purchaser, be used for work of the heaviest kind, such as clearing land. Amelung wanted experienced glass-workers, and he offered them work at their own trade in a land where skilled workers were rare, and where the future offered unlimited opportunity. They seem to have been engaged as indentured hired servants who would repay the cost of passage with their labor, but would receive some pay and maintenance for themselves and in some cases for their families.[6] Having been engaged in Germany for a definite job in a definite place, they did not have to face the uncertain fate of ordinary indentured servants whose services were sold by a sea-captain or his agent to the highest bidder in the port of arrival.

The scheme looked promising. The newly independent country would need, as previously, glass for windows and table use. Glass and china ware had always been difficult to transport in the tiny ships which pitched and tossed across the Atlantic, and such manufactured articles have always been expensive and scarce in distant colonies. Great profits seemed to await those in a position to manufacture such articles in America. European merchants did not welcome this scheme to close one of their lucrative markets. As late as 1810 Thomas Cooper in writing Madison told of the difficulties in getting necessary information about glass-manufacturing, except from the friendly French.[7] The English, the writer said, refused all information and closed their factories to visitors to prevent spying. The Germans also refused. Even Amelung, who had the necessary technical equipment either personally or through trained workers, ran into difficulties. Although the tone of the recital of his calamities suggests that he saw himself as a

[6] Amelung advertised in the *Maryland Chronicle*, June 28, 1786, announcing the escape of a twenty-one year old "hired servant" who was bound for three years and had served only two. On the status of indentured hired servants see E. I. McCormac, *White Serivitude in Maryland, 1634-1820* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1904), p. 40.

It is not clear whether the families were included at first. In 1790 Amelung referred to the workers who "have offered to come over with their Famely's as soon as we desire them." Petition of John Frederick Amelung, June 29, 1790, Records of the Senate, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[7] Thomas Cooper to James Madison, Sept. 14, 1810, Madison Papers, Library of Congress.

martyr in a great cause, important enough for him to be feared and pursued by the British Navy, both Royal and Merchant, there is probably some truth in his account. He claimed that the English merchants and sea captains in Bremen asked the government of Hanover to interfere, and received the coöperation of the princely houses of neighboring states including Brunswick and Hesse, all of whom placed obstacles in the way of workers who were attempting to join Amelung at Bremen. In fact, so much excitement occurred that Amelung had to embark hastily with only a part of his employees, in order to avoid the " rage " directed against him. He was convinced " on good authority that the *Brig. Fame* in which myself and some of my most necessary workmen came over was to be taken by some English ships of force."

Amelung claimed to have established distinguished relationships with this country before he embarked. Although there is no evidence other than his own statement, he is believed to have known Benjamin Crockett of Baltimore while in Bremen, and to have obtained letters of introduction or recommendation from the American Consul in Paris, and from Adams and Franklin. The letters, he said, were directed to such people as General Mifflin, Thomas Jefferson, William Paca, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and to leading mercantile establishments.

When he landed in Baltimore, August 31, 1784, he had 68 workers with him. On November 22, his agent arrived, bringing 14 more. These were probably some of those supposedly delayed by the pro-English German princes, or perhaps by what Amelung described as a " hard winter " with frozen roads dissolving into impassable mud, causing the workers a slow and difficult journey to the port, where, he said, they had finally arrived in a state approaching starvation. The stragglers who followed with the agent had avoided Bremen. The agent conducted them across the Dutch province of Friesland, and finally succeeded in embarking them at Amsterdam.[8]

Amelung lost no time in getting established. He purchased something over 2100 acres of heavily wooded land to the north and east of Sugarloaf Mountain in Frederick County. Additional purchases later increased the estate to some 3000 acres. The land lay along both sides of Bennett's Creek, " following the meanders." It probably did not extend west and south far

[8] Above account is based upon Amelung, *Remarks on manufactures*, pp. 11-12.

enough to fit Amelung's statement that his tract was "on the Patowmac not far from the mouth of the Monacacy." [9] He himself may have been confused, or he may have permitted this inaccuracy in order to locate the site in a general way to readers unfamiliar with Frederick County geography. This resulted in confusion later on, for the Glass-Works came to be known in some quarters as "that of the Potomac." As far as can be determined from a study of extant deeds and survey records, the land lay along both sides of Bennett's Creek, from its junction with Little Bennett's Creek on the east, to a point south of Park Mills, on the west, about three miles as the crow flies. The estate was thus on Bennett's Creek not far from the Monacacy, rather than "on the Patowmac, not far from the mouth of the Monacacy." Soon after arrival, Amelung had a survey made and some vacant land was found, about 324 acres in all. This was added by arrangement with the state of Maryland. He paid the Treasurer of the Western Shore seven pounds ten shillings for the improvements, which were listed, as "6 acres cleared, 1 old Logg House, 2000 old fence rails, 15 peach and cherry trees." The "aforesaid parcels of land, reserveyed as aforesaid, with the vacancy added" were "called New Bremen." Amelung immediately built "a glass oven for bottles, window and flint glass and dwelling houses for 135 souls." [10]

On February 11, 1785, he was able to announce in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* that "a company of German manufacturers have arrived and will establish a factory. Window glass, table glass, optical glass, looking glass." [11] They invited commissions through their agents, Messrs. Ludlow & Gould in New York, Crockett & Harris, and Melchior Keener in

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13, and MS notes therein.

[10] Frederick County Patent Certificate, No. 2821-1; Land Office, Liber IC C, f. 285; Frederick County Land Records, Liber WR 5, f. 520-524, all in Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.; Amelung, *Remarks on Manufactures*, p. 12. The lands to which he acquired title before the end of 1784 included sections of old grants, and were known by names already attached to them:

Part of Gantt's Garden	1570	acres
Adam's Bones	194	"
Tobacco Hook	71	"
I Don't Care What	51	"

[11] The use of the word *company* has sometimes given the impression that a formal organization existed in Germany, and that a firm was transplanted intact from Bremen to America. It is obvious from examination of contemporary records that the word *company* was in common use meaning a group, not a firm.

Baltimore, Abraham Faw in Frederick, or directly, John F. Amelung & Co. at the Glass Works.

It has been impossible to determine the date on which the "Amelung Mansion" was ready for occupation. There were a great many small houses, and some of two stories on the estate, but the main house was a "large commodious, two-story brick house" with "kitchen, spring-house, stables" and other buildings.[12] The remains of the spring-house, and stables are still to be seen, and some other buildings, one in particular which may have been the out-door kitchen or quarters. To judge from the appearance of the Mansion House today, it was a beautiful rectangular building with the very thick walls typical of many late eighteenth century houses. The bricks on the front and west end of the house follow the Flemish bond design, while on the opposite end and rear the pattern is English bond. One may still examine the original pegged beams in the enormous attic. There is a large chimney at each end. That at the west end has a brick with the date, 1789, now almost invisible.[13] At the east end of the house apparently a wooden addition, one story high was constructed. The date of its erection is unknown. A similar one story addition may have existed near the west end at the rear. The front entrance opened on a wide porch from which broad stairs led to the terraced lawn. In the rear there was a small porch, probably enclosed. In the wide hall extending between the front and rear entrances, a beautiful stair-case leads to the second floor.[14] Here, opposite the top of the stair, was once a magnificent ball-room, with a view out over the terraces sloping to the river. The fine panelling of the fireplace, the doors, window and door frames, cornice, and other wood-work, were sold some years ago by an indifferent owner, and are now in Westchester County, New York, in a room built to fit them. The former ball-room space has been modified to make several smaller rooms. Fortunately the rest of the panelling in the house was left untouched. It is particularly beautiful in the two parlors on the lower floor, and in the front parlor the panelling duplicates to some extent that which once graced the ball-room

[12] Description of property in advertisements of sale, *Federal Intelligencer*, March 23, 1795. This notice was repeated a dozen or more times during March and April, 1795. *Federal Gazette*, June 2, 1804.

[13] If the house was partly destroyed by fire and the rear part rebuilt possibly in 1789 or 1790, this would account for the difference in the brick pattern and for the lateness of the date.

[14] Strongly resembling the stair-case at Cliveden, Philadelphia.

above it. There are four corner fire-places in the house, two of them with good panelling. The windows are all large and deep, and framed with beautiful panelling. When the present owners acquired the property they found a contemporary cast of Guiseppi Ceracchi's well-known bust of Alexander Hamilton.[15]

The house is situated just below the brow of a hill, where it is protected from wind. A lane runs from the county road down to the house. There is some evidence that the ground in front of the house was at one time terraced down to Bennett's Creek, about a quarter of a mile below the house. The lane leading from the road to the house seems to have continued down to Bennett's Creek, turning near the house and crossing the terraces diagonally. Joining this road just above the high-water level of the Creek, is a small, tree-lined road, following the line of the stream in both directions. On it still are the ruins and foundations of the workers' cottages, and the remains of the furnaces and ovens of Amelung's two Glass-Houses on the north side of the Creek. The third Glass-House, that which became later the Kohlenburg Glass House, was on the opposite bank. On the south bank opposite the end of the road leading from the Mansion House, there was a sawmill. Here the logs were turned into lumber needed for the buildings, or for fuel for the furnaces. The whole tract had been very heavily wooded and had been bought because of the wood. Only the part necessary for the houses and garden had been cleared.[16] This seems to have been two separate tracts of 160 acres altogether. It may have been the part known as Gantt's Garden, and may have been cleared when acquired.

Very little historical information has survived to help us reconstruct the life of this German family during the ten or more years of their residence at New Bremen. The members of the family, insofar as we know, were the father and mother, one son and three daughters. Amelung was forty-five, his wife thirty-five, the younger daughters fourteen and nine respectively, and the son 13. In the case of the eldest daughter, we know only that she married in Frederick in 1785. None of the women of the family married early, so we may assume that she was at least seventeen or eighteen when she came to America. Even that would have

[15] See note 47 below. Neighbors report that this bust previously stood in the front hall on a shelf.

[16] John Frederick Magnus Amelung's statement, Land Office, Chancery Records, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

necessitated her birth when Carolina Amelung was herself only seventeen or eighteen, and we have no information on this point. It opens the possibility that Fredericka Amelung may have been a child by a previous marriage, or even a sister, rather than a daughter, of Amelung.[17]

The census of 1790 lists Amelung as the head of a large family, seven adult males, one boy, ten females of unknown ages, and four slaves. Presumably, this meant persons living in the house or connected with it. It did not include indentured servants. Of the seven adult males, only Amelung, his son, then nineteen and a son-in-law, can be definitely identified. The boy was probably a grand-son, Charles Frederick Keener. Of the ten females, we can account only for Frau Amelung and the three girls. This leaves four men and six women unidentified, and all we know about them is that they were not slaves or indentured servants. Some may have been higher employees who lived in the house. The census did not include as members of the family all the higher employees, so we may deduce that residence had something to do with it. Frau Amelung's sister Wilhelmina had married Dietrich Griepenkerl either before or shortly after she came to America with her sister. Griepenkerl was employed at New Bremen, and must have lived nearby. His name appears as sponsor and witness on church records of events in the Amelung family, and the accounts of the firm at a near-by store show his name frequently.[18] But he is listed separately in the census, as the head of a family which included himself, two females, and no slaves. The two females were, of course, his wife, Wilhelmina, and their daughter Carolina, born in 1786 and named for her aunt, Frau Amelung.

Fredericka Amelung married Andrew Keener (Andreas Kuehner) on September 20, 1785.[19] He was the son of a Baltimore

[17] See note 2 above. The ages of the parents and three of the children can be calculated from later obituary records and from confirmation records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick. There are no records for the eldest daughter except that of her marriage.

It will be recalled that Frau Amelung's sister accompanied the family, and may, like Fredericka, have married soon after arrival. One wonders whether the solicitous concern of German families of that day may not have induced Amelung and his wife to help out sisters by bringing them to a place where marriageable women were in great demand.

[18] A ledger in the possession of Mr. Marshall Etchison of Frederick, contains the accounts of a general store run by one Shewell, in or near Frederick. It has several Amelung accounts, in the name of the firm, and several private accounts of persons employed there. Mr. Etchison kindly loaned the ledger to the writer for assistance in identifying New Bremen personnel.

[19] Frederick County Marriage Records, 1779-98, p. 23, Courthouse, Frederick, Md.

merchant, Melchoir Keener, one of Baltimore's earliest German immigrants, and one of Amelung's agents. There is a possibility that Andrew Keener was employed as book-keeper for the Glass-Works. Some years later, Amelung's son spoke of himself replacing the book-keeper who died, and the date seems to have been about 1792. In 1792, when the firm drew up a note for an obligation to the State of Maryland, Andrew Keener signed as a witness. We know that he lived at New Bremen, and that when he died, on August 11, 1792, at the age of thirty-two, he was "buried at the burying-ground of the Manufactory." [20] It is thus possible that he was the book-keeper in question, placed there by his father's arrangement with Amelung. Less than five months after her husband's death, Fredericka remarried, again at New Bremen, this time to Doctor Philip Somerkamp, by whom she had five children.[21] We do not know whether she continued to live at New Bremen.

In 1797, there were two weddings at the house. The son, John Frederick Magnus Amelung, married Louisa Sophia Furnival there on May 29. The bride was the eldest daughter of Alexander Furnival, the well-known Baltimore postmaster.[22] They probably lived at New Bremen for a year or more. On August 9, the second daughter, Sophia Christine Dorothea, married Peter Adolph Volkman of Baltimore, and went to live in Baltimore, where her husband was a merchant.[23] There are no records of births at New Bremen, although Fredericka's first child must have been born there. A number of children lived at New Bremen, as the communion and confirmation records of the Lutheran Church in

[20] J. F. M. Amelung's statement, Land Office, Chancery cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis; *Maryland Journal*, Aug. 14, 1792; *Federal Gazette*, Aug. 27, 1798. Andrew and Fredericka Keener had one child, Charles Frederick Keener. Apparently his grandfather Keener took responsibility for him after his father's death, for Melchior Keener's will (Baltimore Court House, Wills, WB 6, f. 130, dated Aug. 29, 1798) appointed guardians for Charles Frederick, and left a fund of £3000 for his support. This was the largest single legacy left to any of Melchior Keener's grandchildren. There is no mention of the child's mother, even in the matter of guardianship, which gives rise to doubts as to Melchior Keener's relation to Fredericka.

[21] Frederick County Marriage Records, 1779-1798, p. 212.

[22] Frederick County Marriage Records, 1779-1798, p. 55; *Federal Gazette*, May 8, 1797.

[23] Frederick County Marriage Records, 1779-98, p. 56; *Federal Gazette*, Aug. 16, 1797.

Frederick reveal.[24] A third daughter, Johanna, born in 1775, also resided at New Bremen, since she did not marry until 1801.[25]

In establishing New Bremen, Amelung obviously had a self-contained community in mind. In his letters to Congress he had referred to his contribution in augmenting the population of the country, an idea much in the minds of his contemporaries, who considered this a most important contribution. His quarters for workers were not dormitories, but rather the nucleus of a quasi-feudal village, which would grow as families increased in number and size. It is therefore not surprising, nor is it a sign of any particular humanitarianism, that Amelung planned schools at New Bremen. His pamphlet described them as follows:

> Persuaded that no greater happiness can be for the succeeding generations, than to give them a good education in their younger years, and impress religion and morals early in their breasts; for this purpose, I have (directly after my settlement here) established a German School, the master, a worthy man, is fully acquainted with his duty, and has a yearly salary from me, a commodious house, in which every Sunday divine service is kept, a garden, some land, and free fire wood. The inhabitants, who send their children to this school, pay a trifle to him.
>
> I am now about establishing an English School, for which purpose I have built a house on my land, and as I advance, I intend to put the same upon such a footing, that children may get a complete education in the same, as in the English, German, and French languages, writing, ciphering, music, to play on the harp, harpsichord, flute and violin; I have the masters for this purpose already here. . . .[26]

It must not be supposed from the above that the schools were well-staffed. It was not uncommon at that time to see notices in newspapers advertising the services of a teacher who considered himself capable of giving instruction in several languages and music, as well as in the fundamentals we usually consider necessary.

As we have seen, there was no church at New Bremen. In the absence of a pastor, services may have been held by the schoolmaster, or by visiting clergymen. The children went to Frederick for confirmation, and perhaps for other important ceremonies. Weddings, however, seem to have taken place at home. There was a burying-ground, which came to the writer's attention in connection with the death of Andrew Keener. No other reference to it

[24] Evangelical Lutheran Church, Frederick, Records, p. 222.

[25] Her husband was Christian Frederick Kracht, whom she married on Nov. 1, 1801, in Baltimore. They had four children, the first born in 1815, *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 4, 1801.

[26] Amelung, *Remarks on Manufactures*, p. 13.

has been found, either in print or manuscript sources. The country people living near the site today say they remember it as being quite near the house, on the slope behind it. The stones, they say, were removed so that the field could be plowed.

The only traces of the Amelung era still visible at the house at New Bremen are the results of the custom of writing on window-panes with diamonds. Many of the original window panes are still left at Amelung House, unfortunately the only products of the famous factory still to be found on the estate. Two of the panes show eighteenth-century inscriptions, one the signature of a Captain Piper, with the date, 1791. This particular pane is part of a very beautiful window in the front parlor, a window which probably once had a window seat, and which still today has two narrow cupboards concealed behind the panelling which frames the window. There is a magnificent view out over the fields towards Sugarloaf Mountain, particularly beautiful when the late afternoon sun streams in through the window.

It is surprising that no traces are to be found of the relations of New Bremen with Frederick. Except for advertising, we have found no mention of the German colony in such examples of the contemporary press as are still extant. But few private papers relating to Frederick County in this period have been preserved and those which are known do not mention New Bremen. We have one record of Amelung's modest political activity. He voted in the presidential elections of 1796 for Thomas Jefferson.[27] He was a naturalized American citizen, but we have no details as to date.[28]

Little has been discovered about the business. There are traces of many members of the New Bremen community, but it is difficult or impossible to find out anything about them. In the Shewell ledger there are accounts of people from the " Manufactory." The accounts were paid in glass. The names appear sometimes as purchasers of articles on the account of the firm, or receiving cash advances on the credit of the firm. Half a dozen of these people had accounts as well in their own names. At the time of Andrew Keener's death, he had a bill at Shewell's which had been due since May, and interest of £5-10-0 on a note due since June. There is a record of Amelung's having settled his son-in-law's account,

[27] Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records* (2 vols., Baltimore and Lancaster, Pa., 1914-1928), I, 277.

[28] J. F. M. Amelung's statement, Land Office, Chancery cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

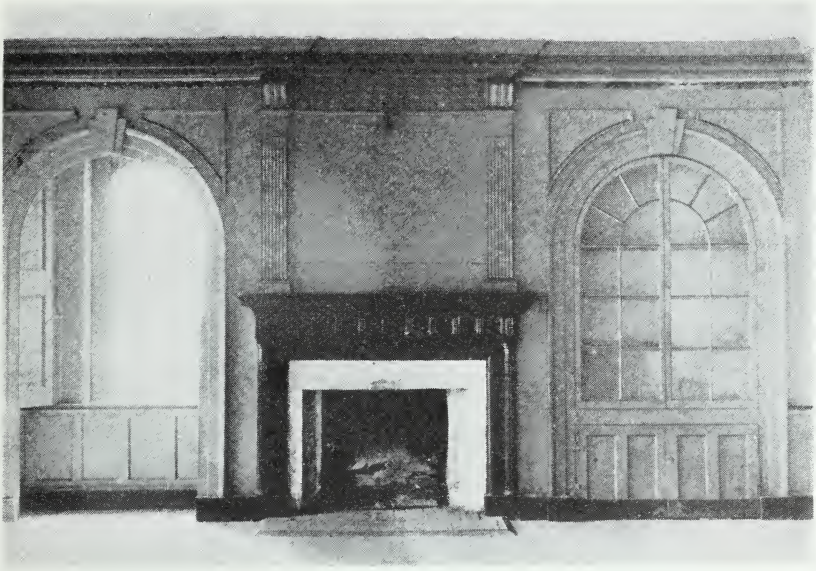
probably at the time of his death in August, 1792.[29] A careful search of this ledger was made in an effort to discover what these people did at the Manufactory, particularly Griepenkerl and Keener. Unfortunately the nature of their purchases had no relation to any particular job. It had also been hoped, by this method, to discover the name of the schoolmaster, or rather, which of the names was his. He is not listed except as the school-master, as far as we can determine, and his purchases seem always to have been articles of general utility, rather than tools of his profession. The only unique entry for him is one of a shilling " to drink for him," following an entry for a cash advances of 3/9. There are a number of entries of a general nature on the account of Doctor Messing who is believed to have been the physician for the community. His expenses were heavy ones, and were usually paid for in glass.

The census of 1790 which lists by name only heads of families gives some data about the members in each family and whether male or female. Sometimes an examination of these records suggests, but does not prove information as to where people lived. The New Bremen community is not mentioned by name but the census taker seems to have visited it last, or almost last, of the settlements in Frederick County. We find grouped together the people we know to have held important positions at the Glass Works: Amelung, Griepenkerl, Hopke ("Harpoke"), Messing, and Balthazar Crämer, the last name being that of a famous glassblower who had been with Stiegel. Among the ninety-three names in this final group are many which are proven by Shewell's ledger to have been connected with the Glass works. It is likely that almost all of them were, otherwise they would not have resided at New Bremen.

From the advertising we know that the Manufactory made a variety of glass objects, from ordinary window glass to the magnificent presentation pieces still extant today. One of the advertisements read:

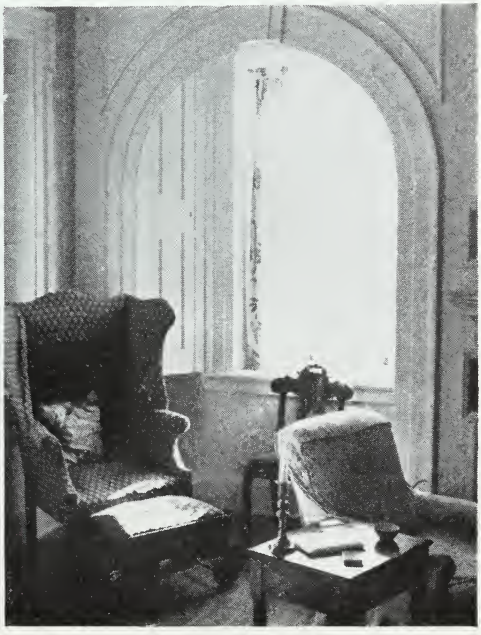
> He makes Window Glass, Transparent and substantial, equal to London Crown, an inferior quality equal to Bristol Crown, all kinds of Flint Glass, such as Decanters and Wine Glasses; Tumblers of all sizes, and every other Sort of Table Glass. He also cuts Devices, Cyphers, Coats of Armes, or any other Fancy Figures in Glass, and in a short time hopes to be able to furnish Looking Glasses of all sizes. . . .[30]

[29] Shewell's ledger, p. 23.
[30] *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, May 16, 1789.

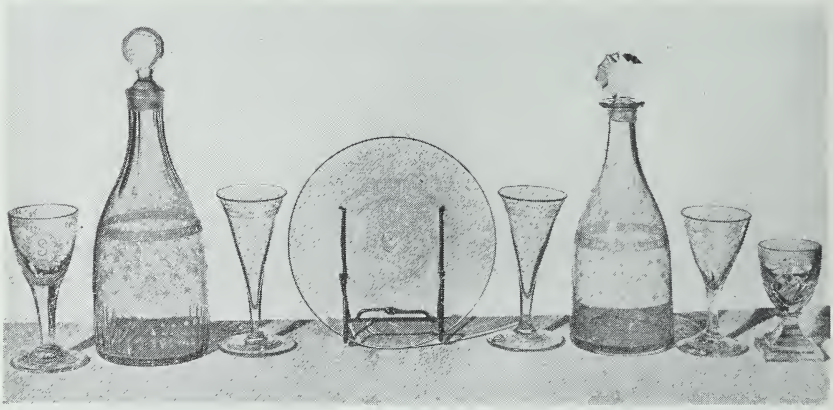


The ball room of the Amelung house before removal of woodwork.

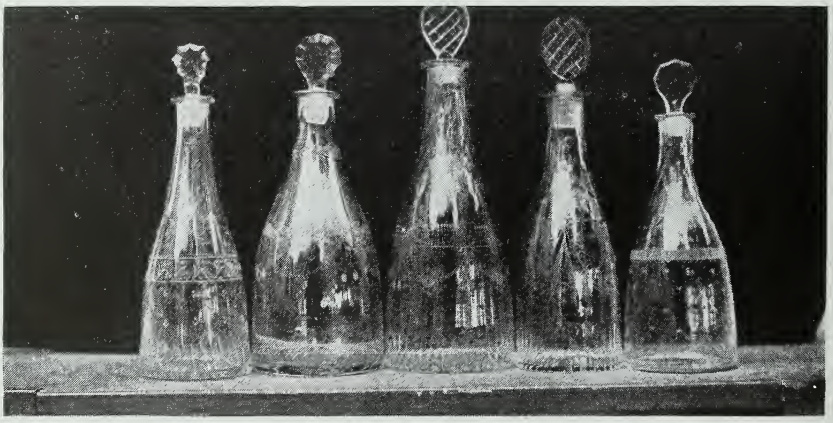
Cupboard in parlor showing bust of Hamilton.



Arched and panelled window recess in parlor.



Pieces attributed to J. F. Amelung, from collection presented by Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Kemp to the Maryland Historical Society, 1948.



Part of collection attributed to Amelung, owned by Mr. W. Dan Quattlebaum, Pasadena, California. Courtesy of owner.

ENGRAVED GOBLET MADE AND PRESENTED BY AMELUNG TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Bearing the arms of the State of Pennsylvania, this piece is inscribed on the other side: *New Bremen Glass Manufactory, 1791.* Height 10 inches. This piece was probably made in connection with the great celebration, January 1, 1791, of the election of Thomas Mifflin as Governor. Tradition has it that Mifflin, president of Congress in 1784, was one of the leading Americans to whom Amelung brought letters of introduction on arrival in this country. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which acquired the goblet in 1937. The broken foot has been replaced by a walnut base.

Ceremonial Goblet or "Pokal," as it was Known in Germany, Made and Sent by Amelung to the City of Bremen.

The bowl is inscribed: *New Bremen Glass Manufactory—1788—North America, State of Maryland.* On the other side: *Old Bremen Success and the New Progress.* The arms are those of the city. Height 11¼ inches. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art which acquired the piece in 1928. The goblets illustrated with two other inscribed and dated presentation pieces from the Amelung works have been called "the most important and significant [group] in early American glass" (McKearin).

There seem to have been difficulties almost from the first. From 1785 through 1789 there are advertisements from time to time in the Baltimore papers, sometimes describing the company's table glass, sometimes mentioning only their window glass, 8 x 10 and 7 x 9.[31] I have found no advertising of their wares after 1789, and it may be that their financial difficulties became crucial about this time. In 1788, Amelung had applied to the State of Maryland for financial assistance. He said that he had brought glass manufacturing to perfection, but had spent £20,000 in the process. He was employing 342 persons in the Manufactory at the time. His application was favorably received, and he was given a loan of £1000 and a tax exemption for five years.[32]

About the time of this appeal a serious fire broke out at New Bremen.[33] We do not know whether it destroyed a part or all of the buildings connected with the industry, such as the "glass-houses, flattening houses, ware-houses and stables" or whether some of the dwelling-houses went up in flames.[34] Twice in 1790, Amelung wrote of "his heavy, well-known loss by fire" and referred to it as having happened very lately.[35]

It must have been this tragedy, following his failure to get a large state appropriation which led him to go to New York to appeal to Congress, then in session there. He petitioned the Congress as follows:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled;

The petition of John Frederick Amelung of the State of Maryland most respectfully sheweth,

That since the year 1785 he has laid out upwards of twenty thousand pounds in bringing several hundred Workmen from Europe, purchasing three thousand Acres of land, and establishing a compleat American Glass-manufactory at New Bremen in the State aforesaid.

That he has, from time to time, encreased his works as his original Stock

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[31] *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Feb. 11, 1785; *Maryland Chronicle*, Nov. 29, 1786; *Maryland Journal*, May 22, 1789.

[32] *Laws of the Maryland Assembly*, May session, 1788, ch. VII; Statement of J. F. M. Amelung, Chancery cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Land Office.

[33] Since he did not mention it in the appeal, and does mention it in subsequent appeals, we may assume that it occurred between the two periods.

[34] Description in advertisement of sale, *Federal Intelligencer and Baltimore Daily Gazette*, March 23, 1795.

[35] Petitions of J. F. Amelung, May 26 and June 29, 1790, Records of U. S. Senate, 1st Congress, 2nd Session, National Archives.

would admit, and flattered himself, shortly to be able to supply the United States, in a great degree, with Glass of every kind, and on reasonable terms, and equal in quality to any imported from any part of the world.

That, by his exertion he has nearly expended his original Stock, and owing to the unforseen high prices of Grain this Year, the dulness of Trade in almost every branch of business, (that of Grain and Flour excepted), the small demand for Glass, and the difficulty of collecting outstanding Debts, at this time, when Cash is become so scarce, he finds almost insurmountable difficulties in carrying his original design into execution. To this he begs leave to add, that he has very lately met with considerable loss by fire, and is also well-assured, that measures are now taking in England to prevent the success of the Manufactory; so that the Works, which bid fair to become of great and lasting Utility to the United States, are in danger of being rendered totally useless.

That he hath, at this time, upwards of four thousand pounds worth of Glass of all kinds on hand, as well as nearly the same sum in outstanding debts, and the whole estate is clear of debts; but, as between four and five hundred people now employed by him look up to him for their daily subsistence, and as some additional Works ought still to be erected to compleat the original design, he humbly begs leave to solicit the Aid of the Government of the United States in this important Undertaking, either by granting him a loan of Money, upon the most undoubted and unequivocal Security, or by such other means, as Congress in their Wisdom may see fit.

And he will pray-

Joh. Friedr. Amelung

New York, 26, May, 1790.[36]

On his return to New Bremen he sent a second petition, describing an ambitious plan he had conceived for the establishment of glass-houses in Virginia and the Carolinas for the purpose of supplying the southern states. He wanted a grant of money, but he also asked that the protective tariff be raised on imported glass in order to protect his own and similar industries. It read as follows:

To the honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the united States in Congress assembled.—

The petition of John Frederick Amelung of the State of Maryland respectfully sheweth.—

That he by his return from New York has received Letters from Germany, which advise him that some Glass-makers have embarked for Baltimore to work with him, which he expects dayly, and a good many more, have offered to come over with their Famely's as soon as he desires them to come. He has not only offered the different Glass-Houses established on this Continent to assist them, if required, but repeats now this offer pub-

[36] Petition of J. F. Amelung, May 26, 1790, *Ibid.*

lickly, and further intends to erect a Glass House in the State of Virginny, all which is well known to a Number of the Members of the Honourable Houses.

Now he finds by the above mentioned Letters, that he is not only able to fulfill his promises but to extend his Plan.—

Your petitioner humbly prays if the Honourable Houses would not give him a Grant of a certain Number Acres of Land in that extensive Tract which the State of Carolina has ceded to the united States free of Taxes for—Years, to build two or Three Glass Houses on it, from which the Southern States might be supplied, it would make little odds to him if the Country was mountainous and also not well adapted for Cultivation, if only well-timbered, and close to Navigable Water, on which the Products of this Manufactory might be brought to market.—

The Advantages, which such a Colony would be to adjacent Country is very obvious, as the Number of Inhabitants in a few Years would amount to upwards of Five Hundred. The Neighboring Lands would increase to more than double their value. Such a Number of People living together on a small spott would be a greater Barrier against the Invasions of the Indians than scattered Plantations, whom they would be able to protect. Is this plan brought into Execution than the greatest part of the united States can be supplied with Ease with Glass of their Country's Manufactory.

Your Petitioner further prays that the Honourable Houses will please to raise the Duty on imported Glass, which in the beginning will not only increase the Revenue of the united States, but at the same Time enable him to execute his Plan with more ease and certainty.

As extensive his Plan may appear, your petitioner promises to execute the same, having surmounted the chief Obstacles which hitherto have attended the greater part of the Glass-Works, erected in the united States— Viz the want of Workmen.—

Your petitioner further prays the Honourable House to grant him for his Services he has already done the Publick in augmenting the Population of the Country, and the large amount of ready Cash he has brought from Europe, and now circulates in it, a grant of such sum of Money as the Honourable Houses, according to their generous Disposition will think best, not only to enable him to repair his heavy well known Loss by Fire, as to pay the Freight and Expenses of those workmen, he dayly expects, of which he has to defray all the Charges from their respective Homes, and to support them, and those which in all probability will soon follow, so that he according to the Plan proposed, may soon put them to Work.—

Your Petitioner lastly offerd to lay before the Honourable Houses from Time to Time Accounts grounded upon facts & Evidence how far he is succeeded with his Plan, and he is fully persuaded that those Accounts will give certain proofs, that his Plan is grounded upon solid foundations, and your petitioner will for ever Pray etc etc— [37]

New Bremen Glassmanufactory
The 29 June 1790.— Joh. Friedr. Amelung.

[37] Petition of J. F. Amelung, June 29, 1790, *Ibid.* In the case of both the letter

These two letters were probably prepared for Amelung and copied by him in his own hand. The English shows evidence of copying, and Amelung's own signature is that of a German, using the German forms of his name. His name in the body of the letters, on the other hand, is given in the English form.

The records of Congress show that Amelung's first letter, dated May 26, 1790, was filed on that day and was referred to a committee.[38] A week later on June 3 Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a member of the committee and a neighbor of Amelung, made a report. He summarized Amelung's petition and recommended favorable action, emphasizing, unfortunately inaccurately, that the manufactory had been a going concern since 1778. A lively debate followed, and the principle of such loans from the federal government was vigorously opposed in some quarters. William Laughton Smith of South Carolina, argued that the federal government did not have the power to make such loans. This position was opposed by Elias Boudinot and Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Boudinot informed his colleagues that the New Bremen product was the best ever produced in America. Smith won the day with an unanswerable question. Amelung had asked for the loan " upon the most undoubted and unequivocal security." Smith pointed out that although £20,000 had been spent, the enterprise was still in danger of failing. How, he asked, was the government to get its money back if an accident occurred? He was perhaps thinking of the fire to which Amelung himself had referred. The report was " negatived " and Amelung got no help from Congress, either as a loan, or in the form of an increase in the protective tariff.[39]

The decision of Congress was made on June 3, 1790. Amelung's second letter to Congress was written from New Bremen on June 29. Although not mentioned, the contents of this second petition suggest that Amelung had learned of the rejection of his application. His second letter was an elaboration of the first, giving details not previously mentioned, and speaking of nebulous plans for extending the glass industry all over the country, in particular, it appears, to the regions represented in Congress by some of the opponents of Amelung's application. He brought in such currently

of May 26 and that of June 29, simultaneous letters went to the Senate and House of Representatives. Only the Senate copy was available and this was therefore the one used. The heading of the letters show that they were identical.

[38] *Annals of Congress,* 1st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 1616, May 26, 1790.

[39] *Ibid.,* same session, pp. 1629-32, June 3, 1790.

important matters as the defense of the frontiers against the Indians.

Among the " Public Acts of Congress " during the first session, there had been passed an " act for laying a duty on goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States." [40] Contrary to some present-day writers, this was not a duty primarily for the protection of the glass industry. It taxed some seventy-four categories of merchandise, including " all looking-glasses, window and other glass, except black quart bottles." Amelung's second petition sought to have the duty increased on imported glass, but his request was not granted, although slight general increases including glass were made later. One gets the impression that his second letter was a last, frantic effort to persuade Congress to reverse its decision on a matter which was literally one of life and death to the New Bremen manufactory.

Although it had been impossible to induce Congress to interest itself financially in Amelung's enterprise, it was highly thought of in other important quarters. There is a well-known passage in one of Washington's letters to Jefferson in which he wrote: " A factory of glass is established upon a large scale on the Monocacy near Fredericktown in Maryland. I am informed that it will produce this year Glass of various kinds nearly to the amount of three thousand pounds value. This factory will be essentially benefited by having the navigation of the Potomac completely open." [41] This passage has been taken by descendants of Amelung's neighbors at New Bremen to prove that Amelung was a personal friend of Washington, and that while president, Washington was a frequent visitor at New Bremen. There is no evidence whatever to support the story. Washington and Jefferson were much interested in the development of necessary industries in the new Republic, as the frequent references to manufacturers in the correspondence between them, and in their letters to others testify. The excerpt quoted above reveals no personal knowledge of New Bremen, but sounds rather like the information of one who had received a delegation sent to inform him of the progress of a scheme in which he had a strong, if general interest.

There may be truth in the other local legend, that Amelung went to Mount Vernon in person to present a sample of the New

[40] *Ibid.*, 1st Congress, Appendix, pp. 2129-30.

[41] George Washington to Thomas Jefferson, Mount Vernon, Feb. 13, 1789, George Washington, *Writings* (39 vols. Washington, 1931-1944), ed. by John C. Fitzpatrick, XXX, 198-199.

Bremen achievements to Washington. Amelung made a number of magnificent presentation pieces, of which there are two in the Metropolitan Museum today, and some others in private hands. One of the Metropolitan pieces, which shows the arms of Pennsylvania, was made for General Thomas Mifflin, who at the time of the presentation, 1791, was Governor of Pennsylvania.[42] He had been president of the Continental Congress in 1784 when Amelung arrived in this country. Another piece, with the arms of the city of Bremen, went to the backers in Germany. It is not inconceivable that Washington and other persons of prominence were similarly honored.

Amelung's pamphlet, printed in 1787, had evidently been sent to Congress with his petition. In the copy of the pamphlet now in the Boston Athenaeum, the blank leaves at the end are filled with extensive notes in Amelung's hand dated June, 1790. To judge from these notes, it is not at all impossible that this copy of the pamphlet is the very one which Amelung sent with his petition. His pamphlet treated at length the attitude of various European sovereigns towards the matter of subsidies for industries. He contended that high protective tariffs, subsidies, and exemption from taxation and military service were the rule, rather than the exception in all prosperous European countries. He pointed particularly to the case of Catherine the Great, who started with nothing, and built up an extensive glass industry in Russia by means of a 100% import duty on glass. Although Amelung admitted the American fear of special privileges, he felt that it would be fatal to the interests of the country. He mentioned also his early difficulties, especially the cool reception he had met as a foreigner. Amelung may have been badly cheated in some of his first business deals when he arrived. In the papers of his son, there is mention of the father having bought land for wood, only to have found some of the wood surreptitiously cut in the course of the negotiations.[43] This may have been the basis of Amelung's recommendation that it would be of " great encouragement for beginning manufacturers if patriotic citizens would assist foreign ones with their good advice, give them protection against imposition (which often is the case with foreigners who are strangers to the laws of this country.")[44]

[42] Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Early American Glass* (New York, 1936), Introduction and figure 15.
[43] Land Office, Chancery Cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[44] Amelung, *Remarks on Manufactures*, MS notes and pp. 4-9.

Alexander Hamilton showed some familiarity with Amelung's plans. In his report on manufactures in 1790, he advocated the encouragement of such industries by means of bounties provided by tariff duties, essentially what Amelung had asked for his own plant in his petition to Congress. In his report Hamilton mentioned specifically problems of glass manufacture. He said that the materials for making glass were plentiful in this country, but that capital and labor were both lacking. He spoke of the "increasing consumption of window glass and bottles." Finally he wrote, "the glass manufactory on the Patowmack, it is said, gives employment to five hundred persons." [45] There seems to be no reasonable doubt that he was referring to the New Bremen plant, for no other factory fits the description in any detail. His mistaken idea that it was on the Potomac may be traced to Amelung's own pamphlet, and the resulting popular notion that New Bremen was on the Potomac. Perhaps it is because of this error, that Hamilton's knowledge of New Bremen has never been previously noticed.[46] We have no proof of any relations between Hamilton and Amelung, but we may hazard a guess that Hamilton's activities and interest in manufactures were well-known at New Bremen. There is still at Amelung House a contemporary cast of Guiseppi Ceracchi's famous bust of Alexander Hamilton.[47] One wonders if it may not have once occupied a place of honor on a pedestal in the establishment.

Foreign visitors knew about New Bremen, and some must have visited there. Two French travellers described the settlement. Brissot de Warville was in the vicinity and probably visited it in 1788. He wrote:

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[45] Alexander Hamilton, "Report on Manufactures," in Alexander Hamilton, *Works* (3 vols., New York, 1810), I, 266-67.

[46] A. H. Cole, *Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Alexander Hamilton,* (Chicago, 1920), pp. 119-120. Cole says that the factory was at Alexandria, Va., and that it had been visited by Brissot de Warville in 1788. There is no record of a glass factory in eighteenth-century Alexandria. Brissot de Warville was also in the vicinity of Frederick.

[47] The bust was identified by Mr. Marvin C. Ross and Miss Dorothy Hill of the Walters Art Gallery, and Miss Anna Wells Rutledge of the Peabody Library, all of Baltimore. Mr. Theodore Sizer of Yale University, kindly sent additional suggestions and bibliography. Mr. Sizer knew several casts of the Hamilton bust. This writer examined one af them, in the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. The cast at Amelung House is a very good one, marked "J. Lametti fecit." The name of the original artist, and the place, Philadelphia, can be read with difficulty. The bust in the Maryland Historical Society, which was received as a gift in 1865 is similar, but inferior to the one at Amelung House. The artist, G. Ceracchi (1751-1802) did a number of excellent portrait busts and was particularly active in America in 1791.

In the United States the prodigious consumption of glasses, bottles, and window glass is increasing the number of glass-manufactories. It is said that the one on the Potowmac now employs more than 500 persons. And how the business will increase when the canals, now under construction connecting the great rivers shall have reduced the cost of transportation of provisions.[48]

Brissot de Warville knew the factory in its early and prosperous period. Some years later La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, recorded a scene far less happy:

A glass-manufactory had been established some miles from Fredericktown. Either because of bad management or bad luck on the part of the managers who came from Bremen in Germany, or because of lack of capital, or because of a combination of a variety of causes, this manufactory has gone the way of all such early establishments. It is now so near to complete collapse that one may give it up as hopeless.[49]

Unfortunately, the second French writer was correct. In 1793 Amelung mortgaged part of his land to James Labes, who apparently joined Amelung in the firm of Amelung and Labes. In 1794, he also gave a mortgage to Abraham Faw, his agent in Frederick.[50] In 1795, the Glass Works were put up for sale.

A bargain! A bargain!

The subscribers offer for sale, the New Bremen Glass Works, and 2000 acres *of Land*, about nine miles from Fredericktown, within forty miles of the Federal City, and not more than six miles to the river Potowmac. There are on the premises, 30 one and two story Dwelling Houses; two Glass Houses; two Flattening Houses; Warehouses and Stables; the necessary Buildings for boiling pot-ash; in short all the Buildings that are wanted to carry on the manufactory of blowing Glass, on a large and extensive plan. There are only two small Farms cleared on the Land, the remainder is all in woods. The Land is mostly of a kind and good quality. There is a valuable *Mill Seat* about two hundred yards from the Works on Bennett's Creek, on a large and never-failing stream. As every person inclining to purchase will wish to see the premises, we think it unnecessary to give a more minute description. For terms apply to Abraham Usher, of Baltimore, or to Amelung and Labes living on the premises.[51]

Amelung seems to have given up at this point, and either be-

[48] J. P. Brissot de Warville, *Nouveau voyage dans les Etats-Unis . . . fait en 1788* (Paris, 1799), p. 269.

[49] La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage dans les Etats-Unis d'Amerique fait en 1795, 1796, et 1797* (8 vols., Paris, 1799), V, 109.

[50] Statement of J. F. M. Amelung, Hall of Records, Land Office, Chancery cases, MS 1767, Annapolis; Frederick Co. Land Records, WR 12, fol. 151.

[51] *Federal Intelligencer and Baltimore Daily Gazette*, March 23, 1795, repeated a dozen times within a month.

cause of discouragement or poor health or both, he made over his unmortgaged interests to his son, John Frederick Magnus Amelung, on September 22, 1795. The property was technically sold to the son for the sum of five shillings plus "a consideration of natural love and affection." [52]

After 1795 the finances of the Amelungs and their Glass Works become so complicated that it is impossible to establish a clear and connected story with the material now extant. Certain facts emerge, and these point to a family situation the complications of which rival those of the finances themselves. It appears that there were no buyers when the sale was announced in 1795. Some time later, the firm of Amelung and Labes became insolvent, and the State appointed receivers for the property. It was again put up for sale, and this time it was bought in by Peter Adolph Volkmann, Sophia Volkmann's husband, who had been a member of the family since 1797. This sale seems to have taken place in 1799. Volkmann bought the tract known as "Adam's Bones" for £760, paid part of the price, and gave his note for the rest, that is, £200, "on the account of J. F. M. Amelung." In mentioning this last point, Volkmann declared that he made no effort to take possession himself until December 11, 1799.

In the same year, part of the land, supposedly the unmortgaged section still held by J. F. M. Amelung, was sold to Adam Kohlenberg and John Christian Gabler. The tract was one which lay along the stream, probably on the south bank, where at least one of the Glass Ovens was located. Varlé's map of Frederick County (1808) shows this oven plainly under the name "Kohlenberg Glass Works." Adam Kohlenberg and John Christian Gabler were to pay him with "725 boxes of good merchantable eight-by-ten window glass."

In 1797 Peter Volkmann had been involved with another relative in a real-estate transaction. He had acquired some property in Baltimore from Alexander Furnival, the well-known Baltimore post-master, and the father-in-law of J. F. M. Amelung, Volkmann's wife's brother. In 1800, Volkmann had financial troubles, and when Furnival pressed him for payment, of the note, he persuaded Furnival to accept his interest in the New Bremen property in lieu of payment. Furnival was to assume the debt still due on that property. Things reached a crisis almost immediately when

[52] Land Office, Chancery cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Volkmann became bankrupt. J. F. M. Amelung was appointed trustee for Volkmann's property, although Amelung had recently passed through bankruptcy, and had lost the very property involved. Amelung refused to convey the New Bremen property to his father-in-law on Furnival's demand. In 1801 Furnival sued and got a judgment awarding the estate to him.[53]

In the meantime, Johann Friedrich Amelung had died in Baltimore at the home of his daughter and her husband, Peter Volkmann. The New Bremen property was listed for delinquent taxes in 1800 [54] J. F. M. Amelung, and his wife, Sophia Furnival Amelung, had left New Bremen and had followed other members of the family to Baltimore. On June 27, 1800, Amelung announced in the *Federal Gazette* that his new *Baltimore Glass Works* would start making " all kinds of Glassware and Bottles " on July 1. He is listed in the Baltimore Directory of that year as " Superintendent of the Glass Works." He was in partnership with his father-in-law, despite the bankruptcy of them both and the suits in which they had been involved. The partnership, however, was dissolved in 1802.[55]

However promising this venture seemed, Amelung was ruined by becoming involved in extensive litigation with his father's former agent in Frederick, Abraham Faw. Faw charged that enormous debts were due him from the New Bremen business, chiefly for purchases made on Amelung's order in Philadelphia. Faw maintained that the transfer of property by Johann Friedrich Amelung to his son in 1795 had been fraudulent, and executed for the purpose of cheating Faw by reducing the value of the property sold in bankruptcy in 1799. He also claimed that the sale to Kohlenberg and Gabler had been of the same type.[56]

Another transaction of similar nature seems to have occurred in 1801, for J. F. M. Amelung now gave a deed of trust to his brother-in-law, Peter Adolph Volkmann, for " all his property."

[53] This story is pieced together from Land Office, Chancery Records, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[54] *Federal Gazette,* Nov. 21, 1798; *Rights of Man,* April 22, 1800.

[55] *Federal Gazette,* Aug. 11, 1802. The site of the Baltimore Glass Works was on the harbor at Hughes Street (now Key Highway) between Henry and Covington Streets, where its successor company, the Federal Hill Glass Works of Baker Bros. & Co. remained as late as 1873. For this information the author is indebted to Mr. E. V. Coonan, of Baltimore.

[56] The records of this litigation make up the parcel of records frequently referred to above: Land Office, Chancery Cases, MS 1767, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

It should be recalled that Amelung had been bankrupt, and that his property had been bought in by Volkmann in 1799. The next year Volkmann was bankrupt, and Amelung was appointed trustee. Then, in 1801, Amelung was again in difficulties and borrowed from Volkmann, to whom he gave a mortgage on everything he owned.

The litigation dragged on, and the property again reached the receiver's hands. J. F. M. Amelung and his father-in-law Alexander Furnival both became bankrupt, and the trustee sold the property of both on the same day, June 18, 1804. The announcements show that a part of the property was still in Amelung's hands, and that another part, including the Mansion House, belonged to Furnival. By this remarkable series of financial transactions and bankruptcies, Furnival came into possession of his daughter's home, only to lose it immediately.

On June 2, 1804, an announcement appeared in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*:

> Exposed for sale at Auction on Wednesday, the 18th day of June next, at 12 o'clock, on the premises. Part of the effects of Frederick M. Amelung, a bankrupt—a tract of Land near Fredericktown, part of the resurvey on Right and Good Reason, containing 560 acres, clear of elder surveys; on said land is erected an extensive glass manufactory with the necessary buildings and ovens; 14 or 15 dwelling houses; barn; stables; etc.—Some of the land is under good fence; it is well adapted for farming or planting. It will be offered in lots, or undivided, as may best suit the purchasers.
>
> Immediately after the sale of the above will be sold: Part of the effects of Alexander Furnival, a bankrupt, a tract of Land adjoining the above, called New Bremen, containing about 280 acres. On this tract is erected a number of dwelling houses, one of which is a large commodious two story brick house, kitchen, spring-house, stables, etc. There is also a mill seat on this land on a never-failing stream or water. Terms will be made known at the time and place of sale.
>
> By order of the assignees, Reuben Elling, Messenger to the commissioner of bankruptcy and auctioneer.

The connection of the Amelungs with the Glass Works in both Frederick and Baltimore seems to end here. There is a rumor that J. F. M. Amelung and his wife moved away immediately and went to Pittsburgh, and that he had some connection with a Glass Works there. The daughters seem to have remained in Baltimore. Fredericka lived there with her second husband, Dr. Philip Somerkamp, whom she had married in Frederick. He died in 1805,

leaving her with five children. She died in Baltimore in 1838.[57] Sophia, who not only married and survived three husbands, somehow managed to get from her husbands or future husbands contributions, financial and otherwise, in the repeated economic crises of her family. By her first husband, Peter Adolph Volkmann, who died in 1805, she had two daughters. Her second husband, Albert Seekamp, married her in 1806, but died in 1811, leaving her with a son and two more daughters, and a large fortune. Within the year, she married a third time, this time another Amelung, who may have been a relative, Friedrich Leopold Eberhard Amelung, a man a little younger than herself.[58] They had two children, both girls.

Caroline Griepenkerl, the daughter of Frau Amelung's sister, was somewhat younger than any of her cousins, and unlike them, was born in Frederick. She married in 1808, her husband being Carl Friedrich Kalkmann, by whom she had three sons and two daughters. Frau Griepenkerl and her sister, Frau Amelung lived on in Baltimore after the death of their respective husbands. Frau Amelung died in 1815. Her sister died in 1847, after reaching the ripe age of eighty-two, surviving her husband by some forty-five years at least.[59] Unlike her sister, who had daughters in a position to look after her, and unlike her nieces, some of whom were left in more than comfortable circumstances, Frau Griepenkerl seems to have had problems. She is listed in the Baltimore directory of 1804 as keeper of a boarding-house, a sad fate for one who, as a young woman of nineteen had sold her inheritance in Germany in order to come with her sister to the New World.

One striking thing about this family is the impression one gets of very strong family ties and family devotion which seem to have survived the intricate if not actually questionable financial dealings in which they became involved. From the first, one notices the frequency with which they stood sponsor at baptisms for each other's children, particularly the two grandmothers, who seem to have been in great demand, not only for their own grand-children, but for the numerous nieces and nephews. The children without exception, received at baptism, the names of their grand-parents, uncles, aunts, or cousins. This was not an uncommon practice in

[57] Baltimore County Records, Administrations, Liber 21, f. 540; Baltimore *Sun*, June 30, 1838.
[58] *Federal Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1811; Baltimore *American*, Oct. 20, 1812.
[59] Records of the Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore, pp. 15, 344, 424.

the German communities in Pennsylvania and Maryland, but it at least testifies to the fact that they got on together. More striking still is the evidence which appears in the communion records of the Zion Lutheran Church in Baltimore for many years after the family moved there. There are frequent references to the appearance at communion of Frau Griepenkerl, accompanied by her daughter, Caroline Kalkmann. All the Amelung daughters managed to attend together, on many occasions of which we have record, and sometimes the Amelung daughters, Frau Griepenkerl and Caroline Kalkmann, all came together, to judge from the order in which their names appear.[60] The Baltimore directories of the first years of the nineteenth century show them to have been neighbors, living on the same, or neighboring streets. There are a number of descendants living in or near Baltimore today.

Of the glass, the writer is not qualified to speak. It has been dealt with in detail by the McKearins and by Knittle, and is the subject of many articles, learned and otherwise.[61] People still dig hopefully in the ground where the old ovens once produced works of art, but the fragility of glass has made discoveries of anything but fragments impossible.

When one visits the place today, one gets a peculiar realization of its history. From the front porch of the house, there is a view over the pasture towards Sugarloaf Mountain. It is not difficult to see in the road across the pasture, the route once taken by wagons going to and from the factory, and to imagine the houses, the ruins of which are in summer hidden by the trees, inhabitated by Amelung's five hundred workmen.

The lands once owned by the Amelung family, the Mansion House, a second known residence on the county road, and lesser buildings of all sorts passed through many hands after the sale of the estate in 1804. For the most part they were neglected and allow to decay. In 1940, Mr. and Mrs. Alden Fisher of Frederick bought the Mansion House and an acre of land around it. They restored it beautifully but were unfortunately unable to live in it as they had hoped. In 1947 they sold it to Mr. and Mrs. William Rogers Quynn of Frederick, who now live there.

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 106, 258, 299, 312, 485, 497.

[61] Rhea Mansfield Knittle, *Early American Glass* (New York, 1921); George S. and Helen McKearin, *American Glass* (New York, 1941). The gift to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. Ernest W. Kemp of a collection of glass pieces, most of which have been attributed by competent judges to the Amelung works, was described in the May, 1948, issue of *Maryland History Notes*, news bulletin of the Maryland Historical Society.

SOME MARYLAND LAWYERS IN SUPREME COURT HISTORY [1]

By Philip B. Perlman

Maryland lawyers are responsible for many brilliant and fascinating pages, and even chapters, in the history of the Supreme Court of the United States. From the very moment the Court was established by the Constitution, members of the Maryland bar began to take a leading part in the formulation of decisions which laid down the broad principles under which it functions today as perhaps the most powerful court of any country in the world. It is the court of last resort, supreme in its field as head of the judicial branch of the Federal Government, equal, and in some respects superior in authority to the legislative and executive branches; for although the legislative and executive branches are each sovereign in its own branch of government, the Supreme Court is the agency which defines the limits of jurisdiction of each of the branches, including its own, under the Constitution and laws of the country; and the Supreme Court's determinations are binding on the other branches of Government.

The importance of the place the Supreme Court was to occupy in history was not realized when it was first organized. It was not until some years later, when Chief Justice John Marshall was writing his famous opinions, that the Supreme Court began to emerge as the great agency of government it has since become. The first justices nominated to the Senate by President Washington on September 24th, 1789, included the name of Robert Hanson Harrison of Maryland, then forty-four years of age, who was Washington's close personal friend and his former military private secretary. There is evidence that President Washington had a greater personal interest in Harrison's nomination than in any

[1] Address before The Maryland Historical Society on Wednesday evening, May 26, 1948.

other for he wrote his nominee a letter in which he said: "Your friends and your fellow-citizens, anxious for the respect of the Court to which you are appointed, will be happy to learn your acceptance and no one among them will be more so than myself." [2] Harrison, at the time of his appointment to the first Supreme Court, had been Chief Judge of the General Court of Maryland for eight years. Five days after Harrison was confirmed as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, he was chosen as Chancellor of Maryland, and decided that the office was preferable to the federal post. Washington requested him to decline the Maryland Chancellorship and Alexander Hamilton made an especially strong plea, writing:

> After having labored with you in the common cause of America during the late war, and having learned your value, judge of the pleasure I feel in the prospect of a reunion of efforts in this same cause; for I consider this business of America's happiness as yet to be done. In proportion to that sentiment has been my disappointment at learning that you had declined a seat on the Bench of the United States. Cannot your determination, my dear friend, be reconsidered? One of your objections, I think, will be removed; I mean that which related to the nature of the establishment. Many concur in opinion that its present form is inconvenient, if not impracticable. Should an alteration take place, your other objection will also be removed, for you can then be nearly as much at home as you are now. If it is possible, my dear Harrison, give yourself to us. We want men like you. They are rare at all times.[3]

Harrison was not moved by these urgings, and declined to take the oath of office. Two years later, in 1791, John Rutledge, South Carolina, resigned as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court to become Chancellor of South Carolina, and Thomas Johnson, the first Governor of Maryland, elected February 13th, 1777, under the Constitution of 1776, was nominated by President Washington to fill the vacancy. At the time he was appointed the former Governor was Chief Judge of the General Court of Maryland and also a Commissioner of the Federal City.[4] When Johnson resigned as Chief Judge of the General Court of Maryland, he was suc-

[2] Quoted in Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History* (Boston: Little Brown, 1938) I, 42.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 42-43.

[4] While Johnson was serving in this capacity, the three commissioners decided that the Federal District should be known as the Territory of Columbia, and the Federal City, the "City of Washington."

ceeded in that office by Samuel Chase, who was later to become the third Marylander named to the Supreme Court.

Judge Edward S. Delaplaine, of the Court of Appeals of Maryland, in his most interesting biography of Thomas Johnson points out that " At this time the Justices, in addition to their work on the Supreme bench, were required to hold Circuit Courts in pairs, together with the Judge of the District in which the Court was held. Travel was slow, fatiguing and dangerous; " and Johnson pointed out to President Washington that the duty of circuit riding was, because of the state of his health, highly objectionable. However, he accepted on the President's urging, based also on the prospect that the Congress would terminate the circuit duties of the Associate Justices. The President emphasized the " probability of future relief from these disagreeable tours." [5]

Judge Delaplaine points out that although Justice Johnson did not take his seat on the Supreme Court until the August term of 1792, he was in time to write the first opinion in the *Reports* of the United States Supreme Court. The February and August terms of 1790, held in New York, brought practically no business before the Supreme Court, and the same thing was true of the terms in 1791, held in Philadelphia. Because of ill health and the bad roads, Justice Johnson could not make the journey to Philadelphia for the February term of 1792.

It is interesting to note that the very first case on the docket of the Supreme Court was *Vanstaphorst* vs. *The State of Maryland*, in the August term of 1791, but it was never argued. The case in which Justice Johnson wrote what is to become the first recorded opinion was *State of Georgia* vs. *Brailsford, et al.* After the first hearing Justice Johnson's opinion, dissenting from the majority, held that the bill for injunction did not contain allegations sufficient for the exercise of equitable jurisdiction. Justice Cushing agreed, but the Chief Justice, and Associate Justices Iredell, Blair, and Wilson held the fund in controversy until the Court could be better satisfied as to the remedy and the right. The injunction was continued at the February term, 1793, and in August Justice Iredell swung over to the views previously expressed by Justice Johnson. The case was eventually tried before a jury; the verdict, against the State of Georgia, thus reached the result originally expressed by Justice Johnson.

[5] Edward S. Delaplaine, *Life of Thomas Johnson* (New York: 1927), p. 475.

Because of failing health, Justice Johnson resigned January 16th, 1793. When John Jay resigned as Chief Justice of the United States in 1795, Justice Rutledge was appointed in his place, but the Senate rejected the nomination. It is said that President Washington then asked Thomas Johnson to return to the Court as the Chief Justice, but the nomination was declined. Judge Delaplaine does not mention this incident in his book, but it is certain that in that year President Washington did urge Thomas Johnson to become Secretary of State, and that Mr. Johnson declined because, as he wrote the President, " I do not think I could do credit to the office of Secretary; I cannot persuade myself that I have the necessary Qualifications for it and I am too old to expect improvement. My strength declines and so too probably will my mental powers soon." [6]

Johnson was born in 1732, and died in 1819, at the advanced age of 87 years. He was 63 years old when, because of frail health, he declined Washington's efforts to have him re-enter the national scene, but he lived on for 24 years more.

Samuel Chase, born in 1741, had a contemporary part in early Maryland history with Thomas Johnson, and with such figures as Hanson, Carroll, Jenifer, Martin, McHenry, and Samuel Smith. He made his home in Annapolis in 1760, after having been admitted to the bar, and was a delegate to the first Continental Congress. He went to Canada with Benjamin Franklin and Charles Carroll in an effort to win it over to the approaching conflict with England, and arrived at Philadelphia in time to sign the Declaration of Independence. After e war was over Chase moved to Baltimore, and in 1788 be the judge of the new criminal court. In 1791 he became chief judge of the General Court. Five years later, in 1796, he became, by appointment of President Washington, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Samuel Chase had been, before he was elevated to the Supreme Court, a leader among the anti-Federalists. He joined with Luther Martin, whose great fame as a lawyer spread from Maryland to all sections of the nation, in opposing the ratification by Maryland of the Federal Constitution. He believed in the sovereignty of the States, and he was always at war with those who argued for a strong federal government. After he went on the Supreme Court,

[6] Delaplaine, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

however, and the contest developed between Adams and Jefferson, Justice Chase reversed his ideas and his beliefs on national issues, and became an ardent exponent of Federalism, particularly with respect to the authority and independence of the Federal judiciary. A few months after he assumed his duties on the Federal bench, Justice Chase wrote the opinion of the Court sustaining the validity of an act of Congress imposing excise taxes. In this case (*Hylton* vs. *United States*, 3 Dallas 171) the Supreme Court, for the first time, exercised its function of passing upon the constitutionality of an act of Congress. President Adams appointed John Marshall as Chief Justice on January 31st, 1801, and shortly thereafter, with Jefferson as President, the contest between the two schools of thought became intensified. Jefferson resented bitterly statements appearing in Marshall's opinion in the great case of *Marbury* vs. *Madison*, in which an act of Congress purporting to confer original jurisdiction upon the Supreme Court in mandamus cases was held to be unconstitutional. Justice Chase was one of those who became a target for condemnation by the anti-Federalists. As in more recent days, when the executive becomes dissatisfied with the lack of cooperation by the judiciary, ways and means of arriving at a harmonious interpretation or enforcement of the laws, satisfactory to the executive, are bound to be considered. A little over ten years ago, the bench and bar and public were aroused over what was called a plan to " pack " the Supreme Court by adding additional judgeships. In Jefferson's day, an effort was made to change the trend of the decisions by impeachment. Samuel Chase was described as an overbearing man and a candid partisan, although his great ability and his absolute integrity and fearlessness were unquestioned. Justice Chase did not hesitate to use violent language, and in Baltimore, while engaged in charging the grand jury, indulged in severe criticism of the Jefferson administration. Immediately after this, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution for impeachment proceedings, and the Senate ordered the trial to proceed. Justice Chase was defended by an array of the most brilliant legal minds then in active practice in the nation, headed by the acknowledged leader of his profession, Luther Martin of Maryland, and including Robert Goodloe Harper and Philip Barton Key, two of Maryland's best lawyers, and Charles Lee, of Virginia, former Attorney General of the United States, and Joseph Hopkinson, of Pennsylvania.

John Randolph, of Roanoke, administration floor leader, headed the managers for the House of Representatives. The presiding officer of the trial was Aaron Burr, then Vice-President of the United States. With President Jefferson urging the prosecution and many of the leaders in the nation's political life active participants, the trial became one of the most dramatic episodes of its kind in the history of our country. The hearings began November 30, 1804, and continued until March 1, 1805. Practically all legislative business was suspended during the period. When the vote was taken the necessary two-thirds was not reached and Justice Chase was acquitted. He returned to the Supreme Court and was active in the performance of his duties until his death six years later.

Justice Cushing of the Supreme Court died on September 3, 1810, and the vacancy on the Court had not been filled, although President Madison made three or four attempts when Justice Chase died on June 17, 1811. On November 15, 1811, President Madison nominated Joseph Story of Massachusetts. The vacancy caused by the death of Justice Chase brought the names of three Maryland lawyers and one Delaware lawyer to the front. The three Marylanders were John Thomson Mason; Robert Smith, who served in three cabinet posts—Secretary of the Navy, Attorney General and Secretary of State; and Gabriel Duvall, who had been Comptroller of the Treasury since 1802. President Madison finally named Gabriel Duvall, and he and Justice Story were confirmed by the Senate in November, 1881. The two new Justices took up their duties at the 1812 term. Justice Duvall served on the Court for 24 years, resigning during the 1835 term after he had become almost totally deaf. Chief Justice Marshall died during the same term, so that all of Justice Duvall's tenure of 24 years was served during the period when John Marshall was Chief Justice, and exerted his great influence for the establishment and maintenance of an independent and powerful judiciary. It was the period when our system of government was given stability and permanence, and when the decisions of the Court were of the greatest importance in building a strong Union. Even a cursory glance at the history of that period will show the depth of emotions aroused over the conflicting views of great patriots over the status of the federal government in relation to the state governments. That conflict has not been completely resolved down to

the present day, although a Civil War, now happily in the dim past, was fought over the same issues. Throughout the period Marshall and the Justices who ruled with him proved their courage and unfailing devotion to the principles which are now accepted as foundation stones of our national edifice. There is no time here to analyze the great cases of the Marshall period and to discuss their importance, but every student of constitutional law knows that they gave vitality to the Constitution, and established a form of government so strong that it has weathered every storm and yet has been elastic enough to meet the problems of changing conditions and times.

During the last years of service of Associate Justice Duvall another Maryland lawyer was taking a leading part in national affairs, Roger Brooke Taney, who, after serving as Attorney General of the State of Maryland, was appointed by President Jackson in 1831 as Attorney General of the United States. Taney, brother-in-law of Francis Scott Key, author of the Star Spangled Banner, himself an eminent practitioner before the Supreme Court, was immediately plunged into the violent controversies that raged thorughout the Jackson administration. Chief among these were the struggle with the State of South Carolina over its nullification doctrine, and the fight to destroy the power of the Bank of the United States. President Jackson and Attorney General Taney worked as a team on these problems. The issue of nullification was met by the declaration: "The Federal Union. It must and shall be preserved," a pronouncement that electrified the whole country. The bank issue prompted Jackson to decide to withdraw all government deposits. When his Secretary of the Treasury refused to withdraw the federal funds, Jackson removed him and gave Taney a recess appointment. Taney resigned as Attorney General and became Secretary of the Treasury, September 24, 1833, for the express purpose of carrying out the plans he had previously made with the President. The bank and its friends retaliated by attempting to throw the country into a financial panic. Commerce dried up, unemployment was widespread, prices dropped and poverty struck terror into the hearts of the people. Jackson and Taney were blamed on all sides, and daily speeches in the House and Senate denounced them. Such oratorical giants as Webster, Clay, and Calhoun led the attack. But Jackson stood firm. So did Taney. That is, Taney stood firm until the President

was obliged toward the end of the "panic session," to send his name to the Senate for confirmation. The Senate rejected the nomination, and Taney was out of office. He came home to Baltimore to be greeted as a conquering hero in one of the greatest and most enthusiastic gatherings ever held up to that time. Before many months had gone by Gabriel Duvall resigned from the Supreme Court and President Jackson promptly nominated Roger Brooke Taney as Associate Justice in his place. Clay and Webster combined to defeat Taney again, succeeding in having his nomination indefinitely postponed. But when, a short time later, Chief Justice John Marshall died, President Jackson again sent Taney's name to the Senate, this time with the appointment as Chief Justice of the United States. There had been, in the interim, some changes in the Senate, and the efforts against him by Clay and Webster were at long last unsuccessful. Taney became Chief Justice on March 5, 1836. He served until his death, October 12, 1864, a period of 28 years. Although he participated in many important decisions, he is chiefly associated in the public mind with the Dred Scott decision on March 6, 1857, two days after the inauguration of James Buchanan as President of the United States, holding that Congress had no power to exclude slavery from the territories. The many and bitter controversies in which Taney had taken part became insignificant in the presence of the heavy assaults on the Supreme Court by those who were opposed to the institution of slavery. At the close of the Buchanan administration the Civil War was beginning. It has been pointed out that for a time after the Dred Scott decision the standing of the Court had become so impaired that it was unable entirely to play its proper role of supervision, either during the period of war when the military powers of the President underwent undue expansion, or during the period of reconstruction, when the legislative powers of Congress might have been subjected to sorely needed restrictions by the judicial branch.

But Taney did what he could to maintain the status of the judiciary as the defender of the rights of the citizen, in war as well as in piece. In the great case of *Ex Parte Merryman* he held President Lincoln's suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* to be in violation of the Constitution. Merryman, a prominent citizen of Baltimore, was arrested by the military and imprisoned in Fort McHenry. He obtained a writ, which the army officers refused to

obey, and Taney issued an attachment for contempt which could not be served, because the army declined to honor it. Taney's opinion, which he ordered sent to the President, followed. Once more Taney was subjected to a storm of abuse, and, although he refused to budge from his position, he wrote in 1863 that he was unable to hope that the Court would "ever be again restored to the authority and rank which the Constitution intended to confer upon it." [7] Had he lived but four years after this pessimistic expression, Taney would have witnessed such a restoration. In the case of *Ex Parte Milligan*, the Supreme Court, then composed largely of Republicans, held to be illegal the establishment of military tribunals in States where civil courts were open. And the *Milligan* case was followed by other rulings designed to protect the individual citizen from discriminatory legislation.

With the passage of the years, historians and scholars have come to agree that Taney is entitled to stand beside John Marshall as one of the two greatest Justices in Supreme Court history. A contemporaneous review had this to say of him:

> He presided over the Supreme Court of the United States for upwards of twenty-eight years. To borrow the suggestive words of Cushing: "He had inducted into office nine Presidents of the United States; and as he stood on that historic eastern front of the Capitol, the Republic's giant steps, in the lofty dignity of his great form and office, year after year witnessing and assisting at the rise and fall of parties, of Administrations, of dynasties, all else seemed to be transitory as day and night, evanescent as dream-spectres, whilst he and it were stable and monumental alone in this government." His professional career was nearly contemporaneous with the judicial career of Chief Justice Marshall. Together they filled that high office for more than sixty-three years, and may be said to have built up the great structure of Federal jurisprudence, of which the foundation only was laid by their predecessors. . . . Upon all points of new practice, he almost uniformly, even when very infirm and unable to write other opinions, delivered the judgment of the Court. The stability, uniformity, and completeness of our national jurisprudence is largely to be attributed to the fact that, for sixty-three years, only two persons presided over the Supreme Court and that, its business accumulated and the docket became crowded, Chief Justice Taney possessed that organizing genius which rendered the practice complete and systematic. His judicial Associates speak with profound respect of his value in the consultation-room; and it is the concurrent voice of all whose professional avocations brought them into personal relations with him that there was a sweetness and benignity, a courtesy of the heart as well as of the manner, and a simple kindliness,

[7] Quoted in Warren, *op. cit.*, II, 374.

especially to the younger members of his profession, which rendered him a conspicuous example for all Judges to imitate. The patient and untiring attention which he always gave to counsel while addressing the Court is worthy of perpetual remembrance. . . . Whatever opinion posterity may form of the greatness of the Judge, there can be but one as to the purity of his heart and his earnest fidelity to his own understanding of his duty. He was twice the object of general denunciation by large multitudes of his countrymen. . . . It is doubtless too soon to expect cool and fair judgment upon one who on such different occasions, so conspicuously opposed popular sentiment. It is an unhappy American custom to charge treason and baseness upon those who differ from us on great questions of policy and law. . . . The calmer judgment of posterity may, perchance, say that, as an abstract question of constitutional law, the Chief Justice rightly interpreted the law as it was, and that the dissenting voices only proclaimed what it should have been. Revolution has confirmed their dissent, and, if amendment was needed, the sword has amended the construction now.[8]

It should be noted that, with the exception of the three-year period from 1793 to 1796, a Maryland lawyer sat on the Supreme Court from the time opinions began to be issued and recorded until near the close of the Civil War, and that for 28 years of that time the Chief Justice was a Maryland lawyer. The Maryland bar has done its full share in writing that part of the history of the Supreme Court derived from its decisions during its formative and most important periods. But it is not only as judges that Maryland lawyers have contributed to the history of the Court. Their contributions as practitioners have been no less notable. Seven Marylanders have served as Attorney General of the United States and have represented the federal government before the Supreme Court. Robert Smith of Maryland was appointed Attorney General by President Jefferson; William Pinkney by President Madison; William Wirt by President Monroe; Roger Brooke Taney by President Jackson; John Nelson by President Tyler; Reverdy Johnson by President Taylor, and Charles J. Bonaparte by President Theodore Roosevelt.

Charles Warren, in his *History of the American Bar*, says that Maryland's pre-revolutionary bar was of great ability and of trained men educated in the law. At the head of the Maryland bar at that period was

Daniel Dulany, the younger, who was born in 1721, educated in the Temple, and admitted to the Bar in 1747. So extended became his reputation that he was consulted on questions of jurisprudence by eminent law-

[8] Quoted in *Ibid.*, II, 397-8.

years in England; and cases were frequently withdrawn from Maryland courts, and on one occasion even from the Chancellor of England, to submit to him and abide by his award. His opinions, like those of his father, were deemed of such weight that many of them were included with reports of decided cases, when law reports were first printed in Maryland, in 1809.

At the time of the Stamp Act agitation, he was hailed as the William Pitt of Maryland, because of his remarkable pamphlet on *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes on the British Colonies for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament*, published at Annapolis in 1765.

Contemporary with Dulany were Thomas Johnson, who, born in 1732, became Chief Justice of the General Court of the State in 1790 and Judge of the United States Supreme Court in 1791; Charles Carroll, who, born in 1737, studied in the Temple in London in 1757, returned to Maryland in 1765, and was one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence; William Paca, born in 1740, a graduate of the College of Philadelphia in 1759 and of the Middle Temple in London, was Chief Justice of the State in 1778, Governor in 1782, and Judge of the United States District Court in 1789, also one of the Signers; Samuel Chase, the 'torch that lighted up the Revolutionary flame' in Maryland, born in 1741, Signer of the Declaration, Chief Justice of the State in 1791, Judge of the United States Supreme Court in 1796; Thomas Stone, born in 1743, one of the Signers; Charles Gordon, John Hammond; and George Chalmers, a Scotch lawyer, who came to Baltimore in 1763 and returned to England in 1775, a noted writer, his *Opinions of Eminent Lawyers on Various Points of English Jurisprudence Concerning the Colonies, Fisheries and Commerce of Great Britain* being of especial interest to students of Colonial law.[9]

During the period immediately following the creation of the Court, the acknowledged leader of the Maryland bar, and one of the greatest lawyers in the nation was Luther Martin, who participated in many of the important cases before the Supreme Court. He is described as a lawyer of great force, of profound learning and memory. Charles Warren says he was discursive, slipshod, and sometimes inaccurate. "The rude vigor, pertinacity and fearless courage of the man made him hated by those whom he opposed—'an unprincipled, Federal bull dog,' so Jefferson called him."[10] Jefferson had good reason to dislike Martin for it was Martin who led the successful defense for Justice Samuel Chase in the impeachment proceedings sponsored by the Jeffersonians in Congress, and it was Luther Martin who won an acquittal for Aaron Burr, Jefferson's enemy, indicted on the charge of treason. Martin was of counsel in the great case of *McCulloh* vs. *Maryland* (4 Wheat. 316) involving the right of the State of Maryland to

[9] Charles Warren, *History of the American Bar* (Boston, 1911), p. 55-56.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

tax the second Bank of the United States. The bank was represented by William Pinkney of Maryland, then regarded (1818) as the greatest lawyer in the country, by Daniel Webster, and also by William Wirt, Attorney General of the United States. The State was represented by Luther Martin, Attorney General of Maryland, Joseph Hopkinson ,of Philadelphia, and Walter Jones, of Washington, D. C. The argument began February 22, 1819, and lasted nine days.

Justice Story thus describes Luther Martin in 1808:

> Shall I turn you to Luther Martin, that singular compound of strange qualities? With a professional income of $10,000 a year, he is poor and needy; generous and humane, but negligent and profuse. He labors hard to acquire, and yet cannot preserve. Experience, however severe, never corrects a single habit. I have heard anecdotes of his improvidence and thoughtlessness which astonished me. He is about the middle size, a little bald, with a common forehead, pointed nose, inexpressive eye, large mouth, and well formed chin. His dress is slovenly. You cannot believe him a great man. Nothing in his voice, his action, his language impresses. Of all men he is the most desultory, and inaccurate. Errors in grammar, and, indeed, an unexampled laxity of speech, mark him everywhere. . . . But everyone assures me that he is profoundly learned, and that though he shines not now with the lustre of his former days, yet he is at times very great. He never seems satisfied with a single grasp of his subject; he urges himself to successive efforts, until he moulds and fashions it to his purpose. You should hear of Luther Martin's fame from those who have known him long and intimately, but you should not see him.[11]

One of the most extraordinary actions in the history of the American Bar occurred in 1822, when the Maryland Legislature imposed a license tax of $5 annually on every practicing attorney, to be paid to trustees for the use of Luther Martin, he being then broken in health and fortune.

William Pinkney, after he argued the case of *Manella* vs. *Barry*, (3 Cranch. 415), his first case in the Supreme Court, became the undisputed head of the American Bar, and remained at the top until his death in 1822. As Charles Warren says,

> So great was his practice that in the eighth volume of *Cranch's Reports* he is found arguing in twenty-three out of forty-six cases. The comments of his contemporaries are interesting. "He appears to me," wrote Story when a Judge of the Court in 1812, "a man of consummate talents. He seizes his subject with the comprehension and vigor of a giant and he breaks forth with a lustre and a strength that keep the attention forever on

[11] W. W. Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story* (Boston, 1851).

the stretch." Chief Justice Marshall stated that he never knew his equal as a reasoner—so clear and luminous was his method of argumentation; and he further said: "Mr. Pinkney was the greatest man I have ever seen in a court of justice." "He had an oceanic mind," said Willitm Wirt, "he was the most thoroughly equipped lawyer I ever met in the courts."

Chief Justice Taney wrote of Pinkney in 1854: "I have heard almost all the great advocates of the United States, both of the past and present generations, but I have never seen one equal to him."

Pinkney's preparation of his cases and arguments was elaborate to the uttermost degree. Though in manner and dress, a fop, arrogant, vain and often boisterous, though laboring under the handicap of a harsh and feeble voice, "yet nothwithstanding these defects," wrote Justice Story, "such is his strong and cogent logic, his elegant and perspicuous language, his flowing graces, and rhetorical touches, his pointed and persevering arguments, that he enchants, interests, and almost irresistibly leads away the understanding." [12]

Again, says Warren:

Of Pinkney's three days' speech, in the case of *McCulloh* vs. *Maryland*, Justice Story wrote, March 3, 1819:

"Mr. Pinkney rose on Monday to conclude the argument; he spoke all that day and yesterday, and will probably conclude today. I never, in my whole life, heard a greater speech; it was worth a journey from Salem to hear it; his elocution was excessively vehement, but his eloquence was overwhelming. His language, his style, his figures, his arguments, were most brilliant and sparkling. He spoke like a great statesman and patriot, and a sound constitutional lawyer. All the cobwebs of sophistry and metaphysics about State rights and State sovereignty he brushed away with a mighty besom. We have had a crowded audience of ladies and gentlemen; the hall was full almost to suffocation, and many went away for want of room." [13]

Of Robert Goodloe Harper, Warren says:

The lawyer whose name appears in more cases than any other member of the Bar between 1800 and 1815 also came from Maryland—Robert Goodloe Harper—able in mercantile cases, a thorough lawyer and a felicitous and graceful orator; Philip Barton Key, Francis Scott Key, W. H. Winder, and David Hoffman were also prominent representatives of the Maryland Bar.[14]

William Wirt, who was born in Maryland in 1772, continued in active practice as one of the foremost lawyers of the country, until his death in 1834. Wirt, early in life, became an adopted

[12] *History of the American Bar*, p. 259-260.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 380.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

Virginian. He was appointed Attorney General of the United States from Virginia, and after his period of public service was over, came back to Maryland, and resumed the private practice of law in Baltimore. He served twelve years, during three administrations, as Attorney General of the United States, participating in some of the most important cases decided by the Supreme Court. As a young man of 33 he was retained by President Jefferson to aid in the prosecution of Aaron Burr, and made a fine reputation for himself during the course of the trial. President Madison wanted Wirt to be Secretary of State, but Wirt declined because he was not ambitious politically, and preferred a post where he could practice his profession. Madison appointed William Pinkney Attorney General, and Wirt then accepted the District Attorneyship of Virginia. In his first case in the Supreme Court he was opposed by William Pinkney, the beginning of many such contests. Wirt became Attorney General of the United States in the Monroe administration, and entered the group of outstanding lawyers who argued the great questions involved in the case of *McCulloh* vs. *Maryland* and in the *Dartmouth College case.* Pinkney and Wirt were great rivals in the courts in Washington and Baltimore, just as Pinkney and Luther Martin had been a few years before.

After Pinkney's death in 1822 and Harper's death in 1825, Wirt alone remained to contest with Taney the leadership of the Maryland Bar, and they appeared in a number of highly important cases, among them being the case of *Brown* vs. *Maryland*, decided in 1827, in which Chief Justice Marshall's opinion, ruling against Taney's contentions, held that the Maryland statute imposing a tax on importers and vendors of foreign commodities was unconstitutional. After he had become Chief Justice, Taney's opinion in *Almy* vs. *California* (argued by Montgomery Blair of Maryland against Judah P. Benjamin) rejected his own previous contentions and followed Marshall's opinion in *Brown* vs. *Maryland.*

In 1832, Wirt accepted the ill-fated nomination for president by the short-lived Anti-Masonic party, the chief purpose of which seemed to be to provide opposition to the Democratic administration of President Jackson. Younger men were coming to the front, and that great figure of the Maryland bar, Severn Teackle Wallis, was beginning his law studies in Wirt's office.

For many years after the death of Daniel Webster, the acknow-

ledged leader of the American bar was Reverdy Johnson of Maryland. He was born in 1796 and was admitted to the bar in 1816 when Luther Martin had attained the zenith of his career; when William Pinkney was dividing his time between the courts and the United States Senate; Robert Goodloe Harper was still in active practice and William Wirt and Roger B. Taney were becoming prominent. The leaders of the Maryland bar were also among the leading lawyers of the nation, a true galaxy of stars. Reverdy Johnson began the practice of law in Upper Marlboro and a few years later was named an Assistant Attorney General. In 1817 he moved to Baltimore, and quickly became known for his great talents as a practitioner. When the Bank of Maryland failed in 1834, Johnson, as counsel for it, was blamed, and popular feeling was so great that riots took place, Johnson's home was wrecked and he and members of his family were driven from the city. In course of time, however, Johnson received a complete vindication, and the State indemnified him for the losses he had suffered. His critics became his friends and supporters, and he was elected to the United States Senate. Johnson left the Senate to become Attorney General in the Taylor administration, but when Taylor died Johnson resigned, and left the national government to resume the private practice of law. He appeared, without a fee, as counsel for Dred Scott before the Supreme Court in perhaps the most famous case in American history. Johnson won his case but the victory is regarded by many as one of the contributing causes of the Civil War. Johnson served on commissions in 1861 appointed by Congress and by the States to restore harmony and preserve the Union. Johnson first allied himself with the Democratic party but when war came he championed the Union cause, and he and his associates prevented Maryland from seceding. He was again, after a lapse of 13 years, elected to the Senate, and became the leader of the conservative forces, attempting to curb the vindictiveness and prejudices that prompted the proscriptions, disfranchisements and confiscations of the reconstruction period. Johnson, on the floor of the Senate and in the courts championed the cause of those who were victimized by the oppressive measures adopted by those responsible for what Claude Bowers, in his book on the reconstruction period, labelled "the tragic era." Johnson appeared in the famous causes of the time involving restraints on civil liberties and involving the legality of the military commis-

sions substituting for the established courts of justice. He argued for Mrs. Surratt, who went to her death on the charge of complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln. Reverdy Johnson also appeared in the case involving Father Cummings, a Catholic priest sentenced to jail on the charge of delivering a sermon without first taking the oath of loyalty. In this case (*Cummings* vs. *Missouri*, 71 U. S. 277) Johnson had with him another distinguished Maryland lawyer, Montgomery Blair, who, after being a Jacksonian Democrat, entered President Lincoln's cabinet as a Republican, serving as Postmaster General for about three and one-half years before his opposition to the administration's reconstruction policies caused him to withdraw and give allegiance once more to the Democratic party. Montgomery Blair participated in many famous cases, including the Dred Scott case, in which he argued against Reverdy Johnson. Blair's most admired and discussed presentation was his successful defense of Belknap, the Cabinet officer who was impeached by the Senate. Reverdy Johnson after the victory in the Cummings case, won another victory in the *Ex Parte Garland* case where the *ex post facto* loyalty oath was again invalidated. Although it is not part of the Supreme Court history, Reverdy Johnson will be long remembered for the ability he showed in debate on the floor of the United States Senate in the consideration of legislation during the reconstruction period, and particularly for his defense of President Andrew Johnson during the impeachment proceedings. This proceeding is the most important of its kind in the history of our country, and Reverdy Johnson is credited with saving the President of the United States from removal. He demonstrated in that case, as he did so many times before the Supreme Court, that he fully merits the place he occupies as one of the greatest lawyers of the American bar.

Charles J. Bonaparte, Attorney General in Theodore Roosevelt's administration, died June 28, 1921, so that there are many who knew him personally, and came into contact with him frequently during the years that he lived and practiced law in Baltimore. He was a grandson of Jerome Bonaparte, brother of the Emperor. He served during the period when President Roosevelt was making his reputation as a trust-buster. He was active in government litigation against the oil, tobacco, and powder trusts, and against the railroads who were becoming monopolies themselves and acquiring monopolies in the ownership and distribution of coal.

Mr. Bonaparte went out of office with the Theodore Roosevelt administration in 1908. Maryland has not had an officer of cabinet rank since. It has not been able to claim a member of the Supreme Court since Taney died in 1864. But the sons of Maryland, as the record shows, were among the great leaders in the days when the foundations of our government were being laid, and when the structure was given its permanent form. Their achievements help give meaning and substance to our institutions of government, state and federal. We have every reason to be proud of them and of the great heritage they have given to us, to all the people of the country, and to freedom-loving peoples everywhere in the world. They labored for the supremacy of the law. The result of their triumphs at the bar of the Supreme Court is that we have for ourselves, and so long as we can preserve it, a government of laws and not of men, a government that derives its authority from the people, and exercises its powers with their consent. In these troubled days of strange ideologies, where attempts are being made once more to glorify the State and to minimize rights of the individual, it may be of some value, not to say comfort, to look back upon the words and deeds of some of the Maryland lawyers in Supreme Court history.

THE FOUNDING OF MOUNT SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE, 1808-1835

By Thomas F. O'Connor

The tourist passing through the Monocacy Valley, on U. S. Route 15, cannot fail to note the imposing group of gray stone buildings nestling at the foot of the Catoctin Mountain, between Emmitsburg and Thurmont. Few who travel that way are aware of the long and honorable history of the institution, known as Mount Saint Mary's College. The third Catholic college established in the United States and the second in the State of Maryland, it has for decades been known as the " Mother of Bishops." From the ranks of its clerical alumni have come a number of outstanding American Catholic prelates, including the magnetic John Hughes, first Archbishop of New York, and John McCloskey, Hughes' successor in New York and America's first cardinal. Best known, perhaps, of its lay alumni, was Edward Douglass White, late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The institution comprises two major units, an ecclesiastical seminary devoted to the training of aspirants to the priesthood, and a college of liberal arts and sciences.

Among the refugees whom the excesses of the French Revolution drove to America's shores was the founder of Mount Saint Mary's.[1] The Reverend John Dubois was born at Paris on August

[1] The first Catholic institution of collegiate rank in the State was Saint Mary's College, Baltimore. Located on the grounds of Saint Mary's Seminary, its inception may be traced to the arrival in 1799 of three Spanish-speaking youths from Havana. Restricted in the beginning to students from the West Indies, it was permitted by Bishop Carroll in 1803 to accept students, both Catholic and non-Catholic, from the United States. It continued in successful operation until 1852 when it was closed by decree of the Superior General of the Sulpicians who felt that the conduct of a lay college was contrary to the spirit of his community. The most complete account of the college's history is by James J. Kortendick, S. S., " The History of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, 1799-1852 " (*MS.*), Catholic University of America Library.

24, 1764, and among his fellow-students at the famous College Louis le Grand were the future revolutionary leaders, Desmoulins and Robespierre.[2] His theological studies were made at the Seminary of St. Magloire from which he was ordained to the priesthood on September 22, 1787. The initial years of his ministry were spent as an assistant at the Church of St.Sulpice, in his native city. In 1791, unable in conscience to take the constitutional oath, he left France and in the summer of the same year arrived at Norfolk, Virginia.[3] Bishop John Carroll, of Baltimore, whose diocese was then coterminous with the limits of the United States, accepted the proffered services of the refugee priest, and for a time Dubois remained at Richmond and attended the Catholics of the vicinity. In 1794 he was transferred to Frederick, Maryland, and entrusted with the spiritual care of the scattered Catholic population as far as Emmitsburg and Hagerstown. Although maintaining his residence at Frederick, he began, soon after the opening of the new century, to make preparations for an eventual removal to the neighborhood of Emmitsburg.

Between April and August, 1805, he purchased five parcels of land in the vicinity, including all of that portion of the present college property occupied by the college and seminary buildings, the athetic field, the cemetery on the hill. and the site of the former " Mountain " church.[4] In the spring of 1807 construction was commenced on the church, and on July 17 Father Dubois informed Bishop Carroll that " the new Church is building. I hope to say Mass in it on the 15th of August next, unfinished as it will be then, the inside work will not probably be completed before next spring." [5] Proximate to this church, but at the foot of the hill, he inaugurated his second project at Emmitsburg,—the educational institution which became known as Mount Saint Mary's College.

[2] Authentic data for much of Dubois' life is extremely scanty. The most satisfactory biographical account to date is that by Charles G. Herbermann, " The Rt. Rev. John Dubois, Third Bishop of New York," in the *Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society, I, pt. II, 278-355.

[3] An unsupported tradition assigns to Patrick Henry the rôle of tutor in introducing him to the elements of the English language.

[4] Abstract of Titles of Mount Saint Mary's College Lands. Mount Saint Mary's Archives, Emmitsburg. (Hereafter cited as MSMA).

[5] John Dubois to Rt. Rev. John Carroll, Frederickstown, July 17, 1807. Baltimore Cathedral Archives, 8 A G 4. (Hereafter cited as BCA). The inscription on the corner stone of this church, removed some years ago from the site where the structure stood and now reposing in the basement of the Seminary Building, reads: " C. Stone / of / St. Mary's Church / Laid by the Reverend / John Dubois / 1807."

The details of the inception of this foundation are obscure.[6] The earliest extant letters of Father Dubois to his ecclesiastical superior, Bishop Carroll, concerning the developments at Emmitsburg contain no reference whatever to any educational enterprise. On the contrary, it is obvious that his first intention was to erect near the new church a residence or retreat to which he, and perhaps other priests, might retire when old age and infirmity crept upon them.

As for the 26 other acres contiguous it is (the church site) which I bought, I give you my word that I will give them for the use of the Church there altho' I wish to keep them in my hands as a refuge in my old age. Could I be sure to quitt [*sic*] this world before you, I would not hesitate a moment to put it and my whole self at your commands, but as I know not what may happen I think the best is to keep it in my hands untill [*sic*] my decease. . . .[7]

Yet, before the close of the same year, 1807, we find him writing Bishop Carroll concerning the possible establishment of a school on the acres adjoining the church:

One thing only must I add to what I wrote to you before—it relates to the new Church—when I considered the uncertain situation of the new little Seminary at Conawago [*sic*] and the favorable position of my new Church on the Mountains [*sic*] and the land adjoining, I thought it would be conducive to the good of Religion to transfer hereafter the said Seminary to my mountain provided it should meet with yr approbation. Accordingly I offered to my Revd. friends of the Seminary in Baltimore to make over to them the 1st purchase I made consisting of upwards of thirty acres and to buy another lot adjoining at their expense which, after having viewed the premises, they agreed cheerfully. However it was understood that I reserved my right to the same during my life-time. . . .[8]

This explanation of the inception of the education project at Emmitsburg agrees substantially if not in detail with the state-

[6] The only extensive history of Mount Saint Mary's is Mary M. Meline and Edward F. X. McSweeny's *The Story of the Mountain* (2 vols., Emmitsburg, 1911). Despite its bulk this work is little more than a collection of reminiscences and a chronicle, often inaccurate, of events. The foundation of the institution is discussed by Joseph W. Ruane in his *The Beginnings of the Society of St. Sulpice in the United States (1791-1829)*, Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History, vol. XXII (Washington, 1935), 158-186. Although drawing extensively upon documentary sources, Ruane has not escaped a number of inaccuracies and his narrative leaves many uncertainties unsolved.

[7] Dubois to Carroll, Fredericktown, May 14, 1807. BCA, 8 A G 3. See also, Dubois to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, S. S., Emmitsburg, November 23, 1812, in Ruane, *op cit.*, 231-232.

[8] Dubois to Carroll, Frederick town, November 28, 1807, BCA, 3 F 11.

ment that the suggestion of a school at the site came from the Reverend W. V. DuBourg, S. S.[9] Both variants agree in turn with the long accepted belief that the immediate establishment of Mount Saint Mary's was due in large measure to the situation arising out of the termination of another pioneer venture of the same type. Since 1806 the Sulpician Fathers had been conducting a preparatory seminary on the farm of Joseph Harent, a French émigré, in the district known locally as Pigeon Hill, a short distance from Conewago, Pennsylvania.[10] The use of this site appears to have been given to the Sulpicians for the period of Harent's absence in France.[11] It was necessary, if the institution was to continue, that a permanent location be secured, and this necessity may well explain the negotiations being carried on between Dubois and the Sulpicians as early as 1807. Certainly, by January of the following year, Father Dubois was corresponding with Bishop Carroll concerning the legal and canonical relations that would arise from the existence of the two institutions—the college and the church—in such close proximity to one another.[12] Later in the same month the members of two local congregations met and signified their willingness that the title to the land on which the hillside church stood should be vested in the Baltimore Sulpicians:

> It is the unanimous wish of the Congregation that the spot of ground whereon the new Church is building now should be vested in the Gentlemen of the Seminary of Baltimore or any of them appointed by them for this purpose, in trust for the use of the Elder's Congregation.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> 4th. knowing that the Establishment of a house of Education here will be of infinite service in every Respect to this Congregation, and that this Establishment will not take place without transferring the Land of the Church with the rest, we would not hesitate a moment to Sacrifice all the expenses we have incurred for the building of the Church, if it was necessary to procure . . . our children such Inestimable Advantages.[13]

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[9] Dubois to Maréchal, Emmitsburg, November 23, 1812, in Ruane, *op. cit.*, 232.

[10] Brief accounts of the Pigeon Hill school will be found in Lloyd P. McDonald, S. S., *The Seminary Movement in the United States: Projects, Foundations and Early Development (1784-1833)*, (Washington, 1927), 21-22, and Ruane, *op. cit.*, 160-168.

[11] Ruane, *op. cit.*, 160, 164.

[12] Dubois to "Right Revd. & Dear Sir," Fredericktown, January 14, 1806. BCA, 8 A G 6.

[13] Arnold Elder In Behalf of Elder's Congregation [and] James Hughes In Behalf of Emmitsburg Congregation to John Carroll, [Emmitsburg], January 26, 1808. BCA, 8 A G 7. "Elder's Congregation" denoted those Catholics living in the

It is clear, therefore, that the project of establishing an educational institution on Father Dubois' land at Emmitsburg had reached the stage of negotiations with Bishop Carroll as early as November, 1807. Hence, Mount Saint Mary's College, although in a sense a successor to the Pigeon Hill establishment, was in its foundation a new and distinct institution, although its first students were most probably received from the Pennsylvania school.

Considerable uncertainty prevails concerning even the approximate date of the inception of classes in the new institution. Joseph Harent's return from France, reputedly in the autumn of 1808,[14] may have hastened the cessation of classes at Pigeon Hill and in turn accelerated the inauguration of scholastic work at Emmitsburg. At least a portion of the student body of the former were hastily transferred to Emmitsburg upon the receipt of information that Harent was returning to his farm.[15] If this vanguard of scholars arrived in the autumn of 1808, as has been advanced,[16] it would account for the long-accepted date of 1808 as the year of the foundation of Mount Saint Mary's.[17] It would, furthermore, lend substance to the equally old tradition claiming that prior to the erection of the first college building classes of some type were held in the old dwelling house known as Chinquapin, on the farm of Joseph Elder, a short distance to the east of the present campus.[18]

The first building erected at the college site was a long house, and constructed from the materials of an unfinished nearby distillery. Adjacent to this a second and larger two story structure of similar materials was put up, which, with a subsequent addi-

vicinity of Mount Saint Mary's as distinguished from those dwelling in or about the village of Emmitsburg, some two miles distant.

[14] Ruane, *op. cit.*, 164.

[15] Dubois to Maréchal, [Emmitsburg], November 23, 1812, in Ruane, *op. cit.*, 231-245.

[16] Ruane, *op. cit.*, 168.

[17] The generally accepted date of 1808 is controverted by testimony surviving from the period of Dubois' administration. The sketch of the college in *The Laity's Directory* for 1822, p. 88, undoubtedly prepared from data furnished by Dubois or by some one acting under his direction, assigns the foundation to 1809. Similarly, the first printed prospectus, refers to the college as "Instituted in 1809." *Mount St. Mary's Seminary, Near Emmitsburg, Frederick, Frederick County, and State of Maryland.* (c. 1821). MSMA. If classes were already being held at Chinquapin as early as 1808 one may conclude that Dubois himself elected to date the foundation only from the year of occupancy of the first specially erected college building.

[18] Meline-McSweeny, *op. cit.*, I. 13.

tion, gave it, the main building of the college, a frontage of some ninety feet.[19] The first portion, at least, of this structure appears to have been completed and occupied by the close of the year 1809. A local resident, Thomas Harris, who as a young man had had a part in the building of the first, and perhaps of the second log structure, left a description, penned forty years later, of the beginning of construction. Allowing for a lapse of memory in details over four decades, his account undoubtedly conveys an authentic picture of the *milieu* in which the institution had its beginnings.

I was an active young man at the time. My father was a Protestant, my mother a devout member of your church. She would often bring me with her to Mass, and the Reverend (Father Dubois) seemed to take an interest in me. He would come to the house and ask me to do little jobs for him from time to time. Father would never tell me to do them, but would offer no objection; whenever the Reverend would ask for me, he would leave it to myself, which was all the Reverend required—I couldn't refuse. The first logs of your college were taken from an old house on the plantation. I was in Baltimore on the day of the hauling, and when I reached home I learned that the hauling was a failure, the wagon having broken down and the roads being bad. Mother asked me to go and see if I could not mend matters, so next day the Reverend came for me. I took my own team, and with much labor accomplished the task. The next job was hauling logs from near the top of Karrick's Knob. The Reverend announced from the altar that after Mass he would ask some of the congregation to help. Knowing the difficulty of the work, I had no desire to be of the number, so I got away before he had time to get around to the front of the church. Early the next morning, however, he was at the house. Father left me to my own desire in the matter; I looked at mother; she seemed to nod assent, so that fixed it; I had to go. The Reverend then got down from his horse and took breakfast with us, after which we started for the top of the mountain. And, indeed, if I had seen the place before, I would not have gone; besides, when we had got to the top, we found that none of the others had come. There was no backing out; the three colored men and myself set to the work, the Reverend himself, with his coat off, doing his share, and all of us wet through with the rain, so that it was quite a cheerless task. We succeeded in loading the first log, and were on the point of starting with it when the holdings gave way and it rolled down the hillside for a considerable distance, we having barely escaped being crushed. The second was more successful, and so on to the end until the whole number (twenty-two in all) was hauled. . . .[20]

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[19] Dubois to Maréchal, [Emmitsburg], November 23, 1812, in Ruane, *op. cit.*, 231-245.

[20] Meline-McSweeny, *op. cit.*, 14-15.

The paucity of documentary records for the early years and the complete absence of printed accounts prior to about 1821 makes it difficult to compile a satisfactory narrative of the nascent years of the institution. Father Dubois' original intention of conducting an exclusively ecclesiastical seminary of preparatory grade soon gave way before the dictates of necessity. In 1821 he, or some one close to him, wrote:

> This Establishment was founded in 1809: it was at first intended only as an Ecclesiastical Seminary. Its situation, remote from vices and dissipation of cities, appeared best calculated to train up in morality and virtue the youth, destined to become one day patterns of it, and apostles of religion. The healthy and pleasing situation of the place, its beautiful prospect which extends around as far as the eye can be held; an excellent spring of the purest water which issues out of the rock, and supplies all the houses and gardens; extensive pleasure grounds: all the local and moral advantages it possesses induced many parents to solicit admission for their children, although not destined for the ministry. Their request was granted the more readily, as, besides training up many children in virtue and science, it afforded a useful employment to young ecclesiastics, who, whilst they were pursuing higher studies, devoted a part of their time to teaching inferior classes; relieved the institution and themselves of the expense of their education, and supplied the seminary with able masters, whose very calling was a pledge of their moral, religious and modest conduct, and who thereby made an apprenticeship in the art of governing, so necessary for future pastors. This attempt succeeded the most sanguine expectations of the undertakers, and so constant has been the public patronage towards it, that it has been thought unnecessary to insert any advertisement concerning it in the public papers; hence it became known only within a small circle of friends, until lately, when it gradually drew the attention of the eastern, western, and middle states, of the West Indies, and South America, whence pupils are sent to it. . . .[21]

These lines indicate the distinctive practice, long maintained at Mount Saint Mary's, of employing the theological students as prefects and teachers in the lower classes. This system was already in operation as early as 1812; as we learn from the testimony of Father Dubois in November of that year.[22] In the same year there was appointed to the faculty the Reverend Simon Gabriel Bruté, who with the exception of some three years, thereafter remained associated with Mount Saint Mary's in the capacity of vice-president and professor until his appointment as Bishop of

[21] *The Laity's Directory* for 1822, 88-89.
[22] Dubois to Maréchal, [Emmitsburg], November 23, 1812, in Ruane, *op. cit.*, 231-245.

Vincennes, Indiana, in 1834.[23] The faculty in 1812 also contained the Reverend Mr. John Hickey, an advanced theological student who had been sent from Saint Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, to assist in the management of the new institution.

The system of student-teachers also resulted in another departure from the original plan for Mount Saint Mary's. This consisted in the development of a theological department, wherein students were carried through the entire course of studies in preparation for the priesthood. From the arrival of Father Bruté, at least, classes in theology and cognate subjects were a regular part of the curriculum, with Bruté doing virtually all the teaching in these fields. Father Bruté's accession to the ranks of the Emmitsburg faculty was providential for the infant institution. In addition to his own unique spirit of learning and sacerdotal zeal, he brought with him his carefully selected library, reputedly of some five thousand volumes, the first extensive collection of books, of which any record remains, to be assembled at the College.

The curriculum of these early days, apart from the courses offered the aspirants to the priesthood, is difficult to determine with any degree of satisfaction. It is not likely, however, that it advanced much beyond the secondary level throughout the first decade of the institution's existence. Even as late as 1820, Father Dubois, in reply to a letter of inquiry, replied: "I suppose your Child whom you wish to send is not above fourteen—otherwise I could not admit him, boys above that age being too difficult to train up to the discipline of such a house as this. . . ." [24]

With the publication of the first prospectus shortly after the beginning of the third decade of the century and of announcements in Catholic press and periodicals, along with the fuller files of business and scholastic records surviving from subsequent years, it is possible to reconstruct, in outline at least, a picture of the physical plant and scholastic offerings during the succeeding decade and a half.

The most complete announcement of this period is that appearing in *The Laity's Directory* for 1821. Prepared at virtually the same time as the first prospectus, its fullness of detail, as well as

[23] Mary Salesia Godecker, O. S. B., *Simon Bruté de Remur, First Bishop of Vincennes* (St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1931).

[24] Dubois, [Emmitsburg], January 14, 1820, to R. B. Mitchel, Dubois Letter Book, I. MSMA.

the scarcity of extant copies of the Directory, justifies its reproduction in part in these pages.

The buildings, some of which are only temporary, consist in a log-house for the students, one hundred and twenty feet long and two stories high; a stone house for washing and baking, forty feet long, and eight outhouses. Materials are preparing to build next year a large stone house, three stories high, ninety feet by forty.

The number of students amounts now to eight; that of the tutors, who are all young men intended for the ministry, amounts to twenty-two, besides the clergymen.

The parish church is erected on the ground of the seminary, on the declivity of the mountain. A fine organ and choir, and the number of attending ecclesiastics, added to the neatness of the church itself, and of its ornaments, give to the divine service a solemnity seldom to be obtained any where else.

The curriculum in the college, as distinct from the ecclesiastical seminary, embraced the classical languages, as well as French and Spanish. The courses in English were apparently carried through the sophomore year. The traditional courses in mathematics were offered, together with instruction in their practical application to surveying. Moral philosophy, or ethics, was taught, but the natural sciences were not yet offered on account of the lack of equipment. Instruction was provided in arithmetic, writing, and bookkeeping for those students destined for a business career.

The Seminary is under the government of a President and Vice-President, and twenty-two Professors, Prefects and Assistant Tutors.

* * * * * * * * *

The Catholic religion alone is professed, without excluding those who should profess another, but attendance to the divine service and accustomed exercises can by no means be dispensed with, a rule which the good order of the house requires.

* * * * * * * * *

The terms are—

For Boarding and Tuition (to be paid half yearly in advance) including washing and mending, per annum	—	$135.00
Extra charge for French (if learned by the student)	—	10.00
Use of bed and bedding (unless furnished by the parents.)	—	8.00
Annual doctor's fees unless the parents prefer to run the risk of a bill in case of sickness)	—	3.00

Pocket money, at the option of the parents, 12½ cents per week.[25]

[25] Pp. 89-91.

An account compiled many years later by an early alumnus of the institution essays to describe in somewhat fuller details the curriculum of the pioneer years. In 1813 there were being conducted classes in reading, English grammar, writing, geography, and practical arithmetic, two classes of French taught by the president and Father Bruté, five classes of Latin, the most advanced, composed of twelve scholars, translating Sallust and Virgil; two classes of Greek; a class of rational arithmetic, one of algebra, and one of geometry. A course of rhetoric, and one of logic, ethics and metaphysics were soon after introduced.[26] The essential accuracy of this account is substantiated by the composite syllabi and class lists located to date by the writer of this paper.[27]

Virtually no scholastic records of the theological department have survived. In 1822 Father Bruté, upon his own testimony, was teaching Theology, Philosophy, and Geography to the extent of four hours daily, while on holidays he had a class in Church History, on Thursday gave an ecclesiastical conference, and on Saturday a conference on Sacred Scripture.[28]

In the early twenties Father Dubois began the construction of the first of the permanent main buildings of the college. This was a stone structure, ninety five feet wide by fifty deep, and three stories in height. The building was virtually completed and already housed some equipment when on July 6, 1824, it was destroyed by fire. The only contemporary account that has come to the writer's attention is that which the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, of Charleston, South Carolina, borrowed from an anonymous publication and printed in its issue of June 24:

> It is with deep regret we have to record the destruction by fire, on Sunday night, the 6th inst. of the new and spacious edifice intended for the accomodation of the students of Mount St. Mary's near Emmitsburg. And what renders the loss still more to be lamented is, that the fire has been communicated by some fiend in human form!
>
> The building, we learn was 95 feet long by 50 deep, of stone and three stories high, and would have been completed in a few weeks at an expenditure little short of $16,000. When first discovered, about 11 o'clock at night, the flames were found, to issue from between the roof and seiling

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[26] "Sketch of Mt. St. Mary's College, near Emmitsburg, Md.," in *The United States Catholic Magazine*, Baltimore, Vol. V (January, 1846), 36-43.

[27] Since the writer's primary concern in previous investigations of the Mount Saint Mary's Archives was with the period subsequent to 1820, he made no particular effort to locate scholastic records prior to that year.

[28] Bruté to Felix de Lamennais, 1812, cited by Godecker, *op. cit.*, 113.

[*sic*] of the garret, a part where accident could not have carried the fire. Besides there had been no fire used in the building for several weeks, and no person was permitted to carry even a lighted segar in or near the premises. Being destitute of either engines or hose all attempts to check the progress of the flames were soon found unavailing, and it was only by vigourous and unremitted exertions, for several hours, tha (t) they were able to preserve the old buildings which stood contiguous. As these remain uninjured the students in the different departments will continue their studies without interruption.

Considering the confusion incident to such a scene and the great number of youth at the Seminary, it must be considered fortunate that they have all escaped uninjured. Two or three individuals, not connected with the Institution, have suffered from accidents, one of whom it was at first apprehended had been very seriously injured, but we understand is now better and likely to recover. . . .[29]

The following month the same publication carried a notice of the efforts being made to rebuild the ruined structure:

At a meeting in the town of Emmitsburg, within a few days after the conflagration, fourteen hundred dollars were subscribed towards rebuilding the Seminary, of which sum one thousand was immediately placed in the hands of the Rv. Mr. Dubois. Since then we perceive by the public papers, that from the efforts which have been made by the friends of the establishment, and we are happy to know that they are numerous, there can be no doubt but that a sufficient sum will be speedily paid in to justify the President's renewed exertions in leaving to his successors a most commodious and useful edifice.[30]

In 1826 Mount Saint Mary's founder, Father John Dubois, was appointed Bishop of New York, and in October set out from Emmitsburg to his consecration which took place in New York on October 29. He was succeeded in the presidency of the college by the Reverend Michael De Burgo Egan, who died two years later in Europe, where he had gone in search of health. The administration then passed into the hands of the Reverend John McGerry. In the autumn of 1828 the Reverend John B. Purcell assumed control, first as vice president and later as president. Under Father Purcell's energetic direction, which continued until his appointment as Bishop of Cincinnati in 1833, substantial progress was made in the advancement of the institution's interests. In February, 1830, it was chartered and invested, by act of the General Assembly of Maryland, with

[29] The incendiary origin of the fire was never confirmed.
[30] *United States Catholic Miscellany*, Charleston, South Carolina, July 7, 1824.

full power and authority to hold public commencements and admit any of its students, or other persons meriting the same, to any degree or degrees, in any of the faculties, arts, sciences and liberal professions, except medicine, to which persons are usually admitted in other Colleges or Universities in America.[31]

During Father Purcell's administration "An extensive and costly apparatus of philosophical instruments was imported from France, and natural philosophy and chemistry became an established part of the academic course."[32] The faculty in 1832 consisted of a

Principal, Vice Principal, and nine Professors: one of Divinity, one of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, one of Moral Philosophy, one of Rhetoric and Belles lettres, one of Mathematics, and four of Languages, besides several associate Professors, Prefects and assistant Tutors.[33]

In this year the course of academic studies covered seven years, the fifth, sixth, and seventh of which were obviously of college level.

Fifth year. Latin: Cicero's Orations, Livy and Horace; Exercises. *Greek*: Lucian, Xenophon and Homer. *Mathematics*: Application of Algebra to Geometry and Trigonometry; surveying and solids. History continued.

Sixth year. Rhetoric; Cicero's Orations continued; Tacitus, Horace. *Greek*: Homer continued; Graeca Majora. *Mathematics*: Spherical Trigonometry; Conic Sections; Fluxions, etc.; a three years' course of History concluded.

Seventh year. Rhetoric and Belles lettres. *Philosophy*: Natural and Moral. *Greek*: Graeca Majora (2d vol.) and Demosthenes; Longinus and Aristotle—*Mathematics*: Mechanics, Dialling, use of the Globes, Astronomy, etc. etc.[34]

The earliest faculty list located to date derives from 1835, during the administration of the college's sixth president:

Rev. Thomas R. Butler, President.
Rev. John McCaffrey, M. A. Vice President, Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres.
Rev. Edward J. Sourin, A. M. Professor of Greek.
Rev. James Quinn, A. M. Professor of Latin and adjunct Professor of Greek.

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[31] Photostat of Act in MSMA.
[32] *The United States Catholic Magazine*, V (January, 1846), 36-43.
[33] *The United States Catholic Almanac* for 1833, 66.
[34] *Ibid.*, 67-68.

Dr. Anthony Hermange, A. M. M. D. Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry.
James Miller, A. M. Professor of Mathematics.
Patrick Corry, A. M. Professor of History.
Rev. H. Xaupi, Professor of the French and Spanish Languages.
Caspar J. Beeleke, A. M. Professor of the Hebrew and German Languages.
William Andre, Professor of Music.

There are besides the above gentlemen about twenty others engaged in giving instruction in the various branches of study. Number of students in the College during the present year—112.[35]

Among the contributions of Mount Saint Mary's to the cultural life of American Catholics during the first half of the nineteenth century might be indicated the example and initiative it imparted to the foundation of other institutions of collegiate rank. Two of its student teachers became, after their ordination, founders of colleges in the Trans-Appalachian country—the Reverend George Elder, of Saint Joseph's College, Bardstown, Kentucky, and the Reverend William Byrne, of Saint Mary's College, at Lebanon. Still another, John Hughes, as Bishop of New York, inaugurated the educational foundation now known as Fordham University.

[35] *Ibid.*, for 1836, 102.

THE *CONSTELLATION'S* FIRST MARINE OFFICER

By Lucius C. Dunn, Captain, U. S. N. (Retired)

Apropos of the present concern in the proposed project of preserving and rehabilitating the famous U. S. Frigate *Constellation* and because 1948 marks the 150th anniversary of her maiden cruise, it is of timely interest to view in retrospect the record and activities of some of the key personnel attached to the frigate while she was being fitted out and during her first cruise. Since this year also marks the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the U. S. Marine Corps (11 July 1798), it is even more appropriate that the subject of this article should be the first Marine officer attached to the *Constellation*—an officer, incidentally, ordered to the frigate prior to the passage of the act creating the Marine Corps itself.

The *Constellation* was one of the first three frigates built by our nation after adoption of the Constitution, the other two being the *United States* and the *Constitution.* The *Constellation* was built at Baltimore and launched on 7 September 1797.

A national crisis, brought about by the unwarranted capture and confiscation of American merchant vessels by French privateers during the European conflicts following in the wake of the French Revolution was the immediate cause of our government's decision to expedite the building and equipping of those first three frigates and of its sending them to sea, together with other vessels and armed merchantmen, to protect American shipping from French depredations. This resulted in the undeclared Franco-American Naval War of 1798-1801. The *Constellation,* commanded by Captain Thomas Truxtun, U. S. Navy, put to sea from Lynnhaven Bay, on 26 June 1798, to engage in that war.

In those early days of the United States Navy the officer commanding the Marine guard on board our naval vessels was, by law, designated by the title " Lieutenant of Marines." Two such officers

were allowed in the complement of the two forty-four gun frigates; the *Constellation's* authorized complement, however, called for only one Lieutenant of Marines. As early as 16 March 1798, in connection with fitting-out the *Constellation* for sea at Baltimore, we find the Secretary of War addressing a letter " To Lieutenant of Marines, Frigate *Constellation* ":

Sir: The President of the United States, by & with the Advice & Consent of the Senate, having appointed you a Lieutenant of Marines in the Frigate *Constellation*, you will be pleased to commence the Recruit the Complement of Marines allowed by Law to the said Ship, to wit, Three Serjeants, three Corporals, one Drum & Fife, & fifty Privates. . . .[1]

In the naval archives' copy of the foregoing letter the name of the addressee was left blank. It is believed, however, that the letter was intended for one Philip Edwards, of Maryland, for in the Secretary of War's letter to Captain Thomas Truxtun, bearing the identical date as the foregoing letter (16 March 1798), we find the following quoted paragraphs:

Sir: I have it in command from the President of the United States, to direct you to repair with all due Speed on board the Ship *Constellation* lying at Baltimore.

It is required that no Time be lost in carrying the Ship into deep Water. . . .

The Lieutenant of Marines will immediately proceed to enlist the Marines, agreeably to the " Act for providing a Naval Armament " passed the first of July 1797. You will be pleased to transmit to him the annexed Regulations for that Purpose.

You will herewith receive Commissions and Warrants for the following Offiecrs. Vizt-

John Rogers, of Maryland, Second Lieutenant.
William Cooper, of Virginia, Third "
Philip Edwards, of Maryland, Lieutenant of Marines. . . .[2]

As we shall later observe, Philip Edwards did not report for

[1] The data on which this paper is based were drawn from the archives of the Navy Department.

[2] The Baltimore newspapers carried notices of the death on October 16, 1800, of " Philip Edwards, Lieut. of Marines and late editor and proprietor of the Maryland Journal " of Baltimore " in his 28th year." Young Edwards first entered the newspaper field in 1792 when he established the *Baltimore Evening Post*, later called *Edwards' Baltimore Daily Advertiser*. In January, 1795, he bought an interest in the long established *Maryland Journal* which he conducted (with and without partners) until January, 1797, following a fire that destroyed much of the equipment. He resumed editorship a few months later, but publication was suspended on July 1, 1797. The young Marine was thus not without prominence, if not notoriety, in his home city—Editor.

duty on board the *Constellation.* Instead Lieutenant James Triplett, Corps of Artillery, reported for duty as "Lieutenant of Marines" on board that frigate, as is seen from the following, quoted from the Secretary of War's letter, dated 30 May 1798, to Captain Truxtun:

> I enclose a Letter to Lieut. Triplett, directing him to repair on board, and to put himself under your Orders, until relieved by the Lieutenant of Marines appointed to your Ship, who writes Me, he has arrived at Charleston, and is on his way to join you. . . .

Who was this lieutenant of marines who had just arrived at Charleston? Was it Philip Edwards, of Maryland, who had been designated for this duty in the Secretary of War's letter to Captain Truxtun? It might prove an entertaining historical adventure for someone interested in U. S. Marine Corps history to engage in some detailed research on this point.

In the interim Captain Truxtun apparently received notice that Lieutenant Triplett had been designated to fill temporarily the billet as lieutenant of marines aboard the *Constellation*, for in Truxtun's letter-book we find the following quoted instructions to Lieutenant James Triplett, dated Baltimore, 22 May 1798:

> Lieut. James Triplett will be pleas'd to repair to Alexandria, with all the expedition that is possible, and engage as many Seamen and Marines as he can find disposed to enter on board the Frigate *Constellation*, under my Command, and to hire a boat and repair to the Ship with them without loss of time. Lieut. Triplett will take Capt. Moor an experienced Seaman with him, to assist in this business; the greatest frugality must be observed in all matters of expence, expected to be allowed by the Government, as the Secretary of War will only admit Such charges as he will consider reasonable or proper.
>
> A copy of the Articles and blank Oaths of Allegiance &c will be furnished by Lieut. Rodgers, who I have desired to send up a sufficient number from the Rendezvous for this purpose, a number of men having been put on board a Vessel bound to Alexandria by a French Privateer has induced me, to order you to make this expedition, which I hope and Trust will be attended with Success.

It seems clear that this was the first recruiting rendezvous ever opened at Alexandria, Virginia, by the United States Navy; Lieutenant John Rodgers, U. S. Navy, had opened a similar rendezvous at Baltimore only a short time before.

In so far as our research discloses, the next mention of Lieutenant James Triplett occurs in Captain Truxtun's letter relative

to stores and supplies, dated 4 June 1798, to Navy Agent William Pennock at Norfolk and written on board the *Constellation* then anchored in the Patuxent River:

I have about 260 men shipt including Officers, and 240 are on board. If Lieutenants Rogers, Cowper & Triplett have been fortunate this last Week in getting Seamen, I shall proceed to Sea as Soon as I have the above articles, and receive my Instructions. I expect to get underway from here in a few days, and will receive my Stores as soon as they are sent alongside.

Some of Lieutenant Triplett's activities at Alexandria are reflected in the following letter, dated Philadelphia, 14 June 1798, from Secretary of State Timothy Pickering to Colonel John Fitzgerald, the Collector of the Port of Alexandria, Virginia:

The Secretary of War being absent, I am charged by the President of the United States with the Business of that department, which occasions this address to you.

Yesterday were laid before me Two Letters from Lieut. James Triplett, of the Corps of Artillery, with an estimate of 682 Dollars, on account of the advanced wages, bounties and expences for enlisting a number of Seamen & Marines for the *Constitution* [*Constellation*] Frigate, Capt. Truxtun.

It was too late to go thro' the ordinary process of remitting money, and as Lieutenant Triplett is waiting only for that, to discharge a variety of demands at Alexandria—and as I apprehend Capt. Truxtun will be waiting for him at Hampton Roads, and incur some delay even with the utmost dispatch that Lieut. Triplett can make—I have to request that you will advance to him seven hundred Dollars for the purpose above mentioned, taking duplicate Receipt. By tomorrow's Post, I will reimburse to you that sum.

Capt. Truxtun wrote on the 10 Instant, that he should go down the Bay, and be ready to put to Sea by next Sunday or Monday, and I was extremely unwilling that the Frigate should be delayed for want of this small sum, or that she should go to sea without an officer to command her Marines.

On the same date Secretary Pickering addressed the following letter to Lieutenant Triplett at Alexandria:

Yesterday were shewn to me your Letters, of the 3rd & 10th Instant, but too late to go through the ordinary Process of remitting Money. In the former, you inclosed an Estimate of Demands incumbent on you to discharge, amounting to 682 dollars, besides some Expences for Captain Moore. I have also seen Captain Truxtun's Letter of the 10th informing that he should proceed down the Bay, and be ready to go out to Sea by Sunday or Monday next, the 17th or 18th Inst. Hence it follows, that he will be detained on your Account, or proceed to Sea without you. To

prevent, as far as possible, the former, I have concluded to desire Col. Fitzgerald, Collector of the Port of Alexandria, to advance to you seven hundred Dollars, which I will replace in his hands by Tomorrow's Post.

You will, therefore, call on him immediately for the Purpose. Pay, or make an adequate Arrangement for paying the demands, above referred to—and hasten to Hampton to embark, agreeably to Captain Truxtun's orders. The Secretary of War, being absent, I am charged by the President with the business of his Office.

Secretary Pickering also wrote to Captain Truxtun on the same date, apprising him of these proceedings:

The Secretary of War being absent, the President has charged me with the Business of that Department for a few days.

Yesterday I saw two Letters from Lieut. Triplett, calling for Money to discharge various Demands, incurred by him at Alexandria, for inlisting Seamen & Marines, for your Frigate, & sending them on board; but it was now too late to remit the money in the ordinary Way by this day's Mail; I have therefore written to my friend Col. Fitzgerald, Collector of the Port, to advance to Lieut. Triplett, seven hundred dollars: his estimate was 682. I hope there will be no difficulty in the Way of this Advance, as I have engaged to remit by tomorrow's Mail the 700$ to Col. Fitzgerald. I have also written to Lieut. Triplett to pay or make Arrangements to pay the above Demands, and hasten to join you in Hampton Roads, agreeably to your Orders, informing him that I had seen your Letter of the 10th in which you say, that you should proceed to Hampton Roads, & be ready to put to Sea by Sunday or Monday; & therefore, if he made any delay, you would go to Sea without him.

The next available reference to Triplett occurs three days later —17 June 1798—in Captain Truxtun's letter of that date to the Secretary of War, reporting the *Constellation's* arrival at Hampton Roads:

After long Calms and adverse Winds, I have at length reached these Roads, having Three Hundred and five Men on Board, a particular List of which I shall send you as soon as possible.

Being all ready for Sea, I only wait the arrival of the *May Flower* from Philadelphia with the Shot, and when I receive that indispensible Article, I shall be out in a few Hours after.

Lieutenant Triplett did not come down with Mr. Rogers as I expected. Rogers supposes his Want of Money to defray the recruiting Business, is the Cause; be that as it may, I shall not wait here a Moment on his Account.

That Lieutenant Triplett reported aboard before the Frigate sailed, however, is indicated in a directive issued to him on board

five days later by Captain Truxtun; since that directive is especially interesting as outlining in detail some of the duties of Marines on board a man-of-war of those early days, it is quoted below:

United States Ship *Constellation,*
Hampton Roads, 22d June 1798.

Sir:

Your particular Duty as Lieutenant of Marines on Board this Ship, is to train, or caused to be trained, the Marines to the Use of small Arms, to discipline and exercise them Morning and Evening, according to the Orders Issued, and at such other Times, as I may direct according to Circumstances.

It is your Duty to direct them on all Occasions, agreeable to my Orders, and to have a due Regard to the Preservation of the Arms, and Accoutrements, and that they be kept clean, and always fit for Service.

It is your Duty to cause the Centinels to be placed according to the Regulations of the Ship, and to call on the Master at Arms, to aid your Sergeants and Corporals in doing this duty.

The Armourer being occasionally under your Orders, you will call on him as often as may be necessary to clean the small Arms &c and the Drummer and Fifer is to perform the Duties annexed to those Stations in Conformity to the Regulations aforesaid.

As it often happens, that Marines are sent on Shore on certain Enterprizes during an Expedition or Cruize, as well as to cooperate with the Army on particular Occasions at Home, you should pay particular Attention to every Part of the Duty of a Soldier in all Situations, so as not to be outdone by any other Officer of your Rank, whenever it may be necessary to try your Skill &c with them.

The putting the Fire, and Lights out agreeable to the Regulation of the Ship, you will be pleased to have done by the Master at Arms and Corporals, in order that the Officer of the Watch may not be compelled to leave the Deck, on all occasions, to see this Order executed.

The Marine Cloathing, and the Arms, Accoutrements &c will be received by you agreeable to the Invoice.

I have the Honor to be, Sir, with great Respect,

Your Obed. Servt.,

THOMAS TRUXTUN.

Lieutenant James Triplett.

Getting under-way from Hampton Roads, Captain Truxtun anchored the *Constellation* in Lynnhaven Bay on June 25, on which date he issued the following order "To The Lieutenants, and Master of the Frigate *Constellation,*" which also referred particularly to the duties of the Marines on board:

Gentlemen:

The Marines on Board this Frigate have been directed to pull, hawl, and heave at the Capstern, in Addition to the Duty assigned them under the Lieutenant of Marines. No other Duty is expected from them, which you will please to attend, particularly as I have discovered, a Carelessness in those People, and Neglect in taking Care of their Cloathes, and of keeping them clean.

I have given Mr. Triplett a Copy of this Order for his government, and another Copy I forwarded to the Secretary of War, with Copies of all general Instructions, which I issue, and request minute Attention to. . . .

The Lieutenant of Marines is always to parade and exercise the Marines, when in Port, at Sun Rise, and Sun Setting, and to exercise them agreeable to Order, when all Hands are called to Quarters, and the Cannon are exercised. The Lieutenant of Marines will attend to the same Rule at Sea, with this Difference only, that instead of Sun Rise, and Sunset, the Men will parade &c at half past 7 AM, and at Sun Setting.

T. T.

On the 26th the *Constellation* sailed out into the Atlantic from Lynnhaven Bay on her maiden cruise and mission, having under convoy about 16 American merchantmen which were bound for Europe and the West Indies. Thus, under the efficient command of the able Truxtun, the *Constellation* achieved the distinction of being the first of our three famous frigates to put to sea. On board her in the billet of " Lieutenant of Marines " was Lieutenant James Triplett of the Corps of Artillery.

During this cruise the *Constellation's* patrol area extended from Cape Henry to the southern limits of our coast-line, which at that time was the middle of the River St. Mary's, in Georgia. In Truxtun's daily journal of this cruise there are several entries, reading " Exercised Great Guns and Marines."

From Captain Truxtun's letter-book it appears that Lieutenant Triplett had the misfortune of receiving a little " panning by the Old Man," on a couple of occasions during that cruise. In a letter of 30 July 1798, addressed to Triplett, Truxtun writes:

Two Vessels were brought to, and spoke last Night, when you was [*sic*] not on Deck. Under the Orders I gave you, it was as much your Duty, to leave Directions for the Sergeant of the Watch, to call you, as I consider it mine to be called on certain Occasions, by the Officer of the Watch, and not to wait for all Hands to be called, when I deem it unnecessary, in speaking trifling Merchantmen.

In the same letter Captain Truxtun continues:

As I know full well, that it is much easier to make a deep Wound, than to heal a small one, I have been actuated in my Conduct to you by Principles mild and inherent in my Nature, believing at the same Time, that a little Reflection would induce you to appreciate the Measures I have taken to make your Duty plain, and easy, and excite you to a more minute Attention thereto. I have hitherto been disappointed, I can no longer continue disobeyed. If I am, Recourse must be had to an Alternative, by no Means pleasant to me, or honorable to you. I hope therefore, the present will have the desired effect, and in that Hope I remain,

Your most Obedt. humble Servt.
Thomas Truxtun.

The other letter to Lieutenant Triplett, dated 10 August 1798, follows:

United States Ship *Constellation,*
at Sea 10th August 1798.

Sir:

It would only be regular, and proper, to have the Centinels for the Night always fixed in each Watch before the Retreat is beat at Sun Down, as has always been my Practice, and as I have before mentioned and directed here. Last Evening, however, as I walked towards the Barricado, after 8 o'Clock, I heard a Noise, and high Altercations between the Marines, as to where they were to be placed, and stand Guard during the Night.

Being tired at finding Fault, I for the Moment resolved not to take Notice of this Impropriety untill to Day, and I now inform you, that a particular, and minute attention to this Order is expected, for the Conduct of those Marines would disgrace the most common and meanest of Privateers, if not checked.

I am Sir,

Your most Obedt. humble Servant,

THOMAS TRUXTUN.

Lieutenant Triplett of Marines.

The *Constellation*, returning from this cruise, anchored in Hampton Roads on 15 August 1798, where Captain Truxtun received Navy Department orders to " proceed without delay to the Havana, where you will take under your Protection the American Vessels, in that Port, and convoy them to our Coasts, ' till you should judge them to be out of danger." Lieutenant Triplett was detached from the *Constellation*, however, before the frigate sailed on her second cruise; the circumstances of his detachment are unknown to this writer.

The next available reference to Lieutenant Triplett occurs in the

following extract from Secretary Stoddert's letter, of 27 August 1798, to Captain Truxtun, then on the *Constellation* at Hampton Roads:

Indeed the service upon which you are ordered is so important, that I hope this Letter may not reach you at Norfolk.

I will only therefore say for the present, that you are at Liberty to take the number of men you deem necessary, and that you must take Saml Reddick first Lieutenant of Marines, or Josiah Reddick 2nd Lieutenant—both at Norfolk—to command the Marines, in the room of Triplett. If more time was allowed, I would send them a more experienced Officer than either of these Gentlemen.

But the Nature of the Service you are to perform, will not admit of delay.—And I again add my Wishes that you may have left Norfolk before this Letter reaches that place. Should it be otherwise, regulate whatever is necessary, with respect to the officers Yourself.

That neither of the Reddicks [3] sailed in the *Constellation* as her Lieutenant of Marines, on her second cruise, is indicated in the following lofty letter, of 31 August 1798, from Captain Truxtun to a Lieutenant Saunders:

United States Ship *Constellation,*
Hampton, 31st August 1798.

Sir:

I send you herewith a printed Copy of my private Instructions for your Government. In the Organization of our Infant Navy, it is highly necessary, that great Attention be paid to every Order, and Regulation. And as the Articles of War, the President's Instructions, and my private Orders are the basis from which all Duty and Etiquette is to be performed, you will be pleased to particularly attend to the same.

We have a national Character to support, and it is my anxious Desire that we appear when in Company with the Ships of our own, and other Nations as well disciplined, and regular as any of them. From your Character I have every Reason to suppose, that I may calculate on your steady attention to the Rules, and Regulations laid down, and of the keeping the Marines neat, clean, and in good Order, which from the Inattention of their late Officer, I am sorry to say they have been shamefully neglected, particularly in Port, and since I first went on Shore at Norfolk. Daily Orders are generally given in a Book, whenever any Part thereof relates to your Department, the Officer of the Watch will inform you.

I am Sir,

Your Obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS TRUXTON.

Lieut. Saunders.

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[3] Josiah Reddick was appointed 2nd lieutenant of marines from Virginia, Aug. 3,

On 5 September 1798 Captain Truxtun departed on his second cruise in the *Constellation*, bound for Havana in accordance with his previously mentioned orders. Serving on board in the billet of " Lieutenant of Marines " was Lieutenant Saunders, whose initials or first name are presently unknown to this writer.

Arriving off Moro Castle on 21st September, Captain Truxtun immediately dispatched Lieutenant Saunders ashore at Havana under the following orders:

> On your being landed at the Havannah, you will wait upon the Governor, and deliver the Packet addressed for him without Delay.
>
> I also request you will be pleased to deliver as soon after as possible the other Letters herewith handed you.
>
> It is my Wish, that you return on Board on Monday, if possible. You will be pleased to inform those, who it may concern, that I certainly leave this Station on the 27th Instant for the Coasts of the United States. Great Prudence is necessary to be observed towards the Government Laws &c &c &c. The public Paper enclosed you will paste up, wherever the Change or Coffee House may be. I hope to see you speedily.

Thus did Captain Truxtun register another important mission for the colorful *Constellation* by achieving the distinction of being the second vessel of the United States Navy to establish direct diplomatic contact with a Foreign Power after creation of the Navy Department.

1798, and served aboard the *Insurgente*, *Adams* and the *New York* before resigning in 1802. The records so far examined furnish no information concerning Samuel Reddick.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

An Album of American Battle Art, 1755-1918. [Prepared for] The Library of Congress. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947. 319 pp. $5.00.

This volume, a worth while outcome of the Exhibition of American Battle Art at the Library of Congress in 1944, contains 150 plates covering the various wars the English colonies and the United States have participated in during the period covered. The volume is divided into ten sections covering the French and Indian War and its Aftermath, the American Revolution, the New Navy: Revolutionary France and Barbary Pirates; the War of 1812, Indian Wars and Volunteer Companies, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Plains Indians, the Spanish American War and Philippine Insurrection, and the First World War. The plates are divided into sections, each plate being accompanied by excellent explanatory text prepared by Donald H. Mugridge, Fellow in American History, and Helen F. Conover of the Division of General Reference and Bibliography. The uniformly appropriate choice of plates and the informative and agreeable text could scarcely be bettered; chronologically and geographically even in the first case and in the second made lively by well chosen contemporary quotations. In both categories much of even the oldest items, either pictorial or literary, seems curiously modern—the pictorially "primitive" seem quite contemporary, and the factual reporting, or the propaganda, of any date sounds, unfortunately, far too familiar. Taste and discrimination have been exercised. The following comments are made from an interested rather than a critical point of view.

Knowing the great cost of plates today the use of the offset process is a necessity and here reproduces the drawings, pen and pencil as well as wash, quite adequately (if for no other reason this would have been an important book simply by bringing the drawings of Alfred and William Waud before a wider public). Fortunately engravings, when reproduced approximately the size of the original fare well; unfortunately those which have to be reduced are so blurred and dark that all detail is lost and, inversely, the small, delicate plates when "blown up" become crude and coarse. For these reasons particularly we wish that the dimensions of the original had been included in the captions and that, when known, the name of the artist of the original had been noted.

The volume contains the following views of Maryland interest: Plate 31, an engraving of the U. S. Ship *Constellation* (laid down in Baltimore) reproduced from a piece of sheet music in the Dielman Collection of the Maryland Historical Society; Plate 46, a View of the Bombardment of Fort McHenry from the aquatint by Bowers, a most entertaining item; Plate 56, the Death of Major Samuel Ringgold at Palo Alto, Texas, May

8, 1846, after a lithograph by Nagel and in the style of the familiar Currier & Ives productions; Plate 59, from a Baltimore imprint of 1848, *The Journal of William H. Richardson, A Private Soldier in the Campaign of Old and New Mexico*, setting forth the adventures of an Ann Arundel County boy; Plates 96 and 97, after etchings by the Baltimore artist of many talents, Adalbert J. Volck; Plates 101 and 109, "Commissary Department, Encampment of the Massachusetts 6th Regiment of Volunteers near Baltimore, 1861" and "The U. S. General Hospital, Patterson Park, Baltimore" in 1863, the former from a lithograph by Bufford and the latter one of Sachse's.

The volume should be popular as a "gift book" and useful for reference; it would have been better if a bibliography had been included.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

A Federal Judge Sums Up. . . . By W. CALVIN CHESNUT. Baltimore: 1946. 274 pp.

The author hastens to tell us that the book is not an autobiography. Certainly it does not abound in the infinite detail which characterizes the famous biography by Boswell of Samuel Johnson. He adds that he does not attempt description but merely suggestion. Maybe his treatment is merely suggestive and only impressionistic, but the result is a well chosen, orderly succession of interesting and informative pictures. He comments upon so many historical facts that his book is to a large extent really a comprehensive legal survey.

The far-reaching scope of the book is suggested by the table of contents, which read as follows:

1. Preliminary and Professional Education, 2. Baltimore Judges in the 90's, 3. Some Leading Baltimore Lawyers in the 90's, 4. The Maryland Court of Appeals at the Turn of the Century, 5. The Baltimore State's Attorney's Office 1896-1900, 6. General Law Practice 1899-1931, 7. The Federal Judicial System, 8. A Day in the Federal Court, 9. Diversity of Work of the District Judge, 10. Some "Trials" of the Trial Judge, 11. The Trial Lawyer as seen from the Bench, 12. Comments on the Jury System, 13. The Judicial Function, 14. Improvements in Judicial Procedure, 15. Some Particular Cases in the Maryland District Court, and 16. A Lawyer's Collateral Reading.

In his references to the early days of Johns Hopkins University, he makes a real contribution to the history of the launching of that epoch-making university. He discusses legal education at the University of Maryland giving a clearly defined picture of outstanding members of the Baltimore Bar who lectured there when he was a student. He recognizes the many merits of the case system in legal studies, but he believes that the practice of the lecturers under whom he studied of starting their courses by discussing the basic principles of law was a sound one.

This was especially so because the lecturers so frequently illustrated law

points in a picturesque and impressive manner by references to adjudicated cases, some of which had occurred in the practice of the lecturer.

He paints an impressive picture of business conditions in Baltimore, especially in the early 90's and of personal characteristics of judges and of prominent members of the bar. He does not claim that the leading lawyers of fifty years ago were abler than those who are now at our bar.

He points out, however, that the operations of the courts of those times tended to familiarize the public much better with what our prominent lawyers were doing than is the situation today. That was partly due to the fact that nearly all law cases were decided by juries and not the court. Big criminal and civil cases customarily attracted the services in court of outstanding lawyers opposing each other at the trial table. The public followed closely and enjoyed the comments of these lawyers about the prisoners, or other parties to the court proceedings, about witnesses, and also often about other lawyers at the trial table. So it was that the leading lawyers of those days were often in the public eye and their names were familiar ones in the community.

Judge Chesnut's comments on developments in judicial procedure, especially in the Federal Courts, are illuminating and timely. His account of the complex and somewhat unique functions of a state's attorney is highly pertinent.

I regret that lack of space permits only a cursory reference to a few of many subjects discussed in the different chapters of this book. One of the characteristics of Judge Chesnut as a lawyer and a judge has been his great skill in selection, research, analysis and in marshalling facts in a comprehensive and persuasive manner. His book well illustrates that happy faculty.

"A Federal Judge Sums Up" by presenting facts so successfully as to reflect a sound sense of balance and of relative values. In doing so, he has managed in his book of rather short compass, to touch upon almost every outstanding phase of legal and judicial activity in Baltimore during the last fifty years. His book will continue to be read frequently as an entertaining account of bygone days, and as an illuminating discussion of present day conditions with helpful suggestions for the future.

I must, however, refer to one defect. The author has been too modest and inadequate in discussing the roles which he himself has played as honor student, athlete, public spirited citizen, outstanding lawyer and federal judge, certainly without a superior now sitting in our Federal Courts.

It will also be a book of source material to which the research worker will turn for accurate information on specific subjects. As the years go by, Judge Chesnut's volume, a scholarly book by a scholarly man, will be read more and more frequently by those who seek accurate information regarding our Bar and Bench, presented in an accurate and entertaining manner. The traditional dryness of legal and judicial presentation disappears in the informative, dignified and highly entertaining diction of Judge Chesnut.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE

General Gage in America. By JOHN RICHARD ALDEN. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 313 pp. $4.00.

In the eyes of his contemporaries, General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of British troops in America from 1763 to 1775, proved himself incompetent and for that reason was recalled. Later generations have been, for the most part, content to repeat this judgment. Dr. Alden, using recently available material, has for the first time fully studied Gage's career in America. His conclusions tend to abate to a considerable degree the sentence of the past. As revealed by Dr. Alden, Gage was by no means incompetent, if we define incompetency as a neglect of duty or complete unsuitability for high command. It is true, however, and Dr. Alden makes no attempt to minimize these defects, that Gage was over cautious, feared to act on his own initiative without authority from England and lacked brilliance.

This study presents an especially interesting account of the relations of the commander-in-chief to the policy-making bodies in England, which more often than not failed to seek the advice of the responsible military figure, or if they did obtain his counsel, most generally ignored it. If there was incompetency it existed both in America and in England.

Dr. Alden's book more nearly approaches a full length study of Gage than the title indicates. Gage arrived in the colonies in 1755 at the age of thirty-five and remained constantly on duty until 1775 with the exception of one visit to England. These twenty years mark the active period of Gage's life. His career before his arrival had been uneventful and after his return to England he played no significant role in military affairs. Dr. Alden covers these two phases of Gage's life as adequately as seems necessary. This study should command the attention of all students of the Revolutionary era, for its material is both fresh and well presented.

HARRY AMMON

The Nine Capitals of the United States. By Robert Fortenbaugh. York, Pa.: Maple Press, 1948. ix, 104 pp.

Dr. Fortenbaugh, Adeline Sager Professor of History in Gettysburg College, calls attention to the various trials of the early national government which forced it to make more than a dozen moves involving nine cities before establishing a permanent capital for the United States. Since the living conditions and cultural settings of the various towns receive relatively full treatment, the study is essentially a kind of social history of the various Congresses from 1774 to 1800. Although the author outlines the major political, economic, and military problems of the new government, he emphasizes factors like the British advances and American reactions which most directly served to disturb the representatives. A number

of interesting drawings plus quotations from the congressional journals enliven the narrative.

The Continental Congress, whose seat was automatically the capital pro tem, met in Baltimore December, 1776—February, 1777 (Capital No 2), and in Annapolis, December, 1783—August, 1783 (Capital No. 6).

The elaborate format of this volume which was published in an edition of twenty-three hundred numbered copies should be especially pleasing to collectors.

STANLEY R. ROLNICK

The Western Country in 1793: Reports on Kentucky and Virginia. By HARRY TOULMIN. Edited by MARION TINLING and GODFREY DAVIES. San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1948. xx, 141 pp. $3.75.

Here is a complete and thorough description of the "back country" and the older parts of Virginia by more than a casual traveler who took very little from hearsay. Harry Toulmin, Unitarian minister from Lancashire, England, came to America in 1793 to report to his parishioners on the country's suitability for immigrants. His hitherto unpublished journal deals with all phases of the social, economic, and political life of Virginia and Kentucky in 1793 and 1794.

Harry Toulmin's journal consists of much factual detail of the pioneer life in the Western country of 1793. He notes, for instance, the productivity of the soil, the methods of agriculture, and the opportunities for small-scale farming. In addition, he describes transportation, manufacturing, and prices. To the serious student of American history, *The Western Country in 1793* should be compared with *Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey*, for both deal with the same era but the latter primarily with the Eastern seaboard.

This book has not too much interest for Maryland readers. Toulmin does, however, include a four-page description of Hagerstown, the prevailing prices, the inhabitants, and opportunities for employment. He does not tell us whether he approves of Hagerstown for English immigrants but comments upon the shortages of husbandmen and male servants.

The Huntington Library is to be complimented for making this very readable little volume available from its own manuscripts. The editors have included an introduction which throws great light on Toulmin's versatility. The modernizing of the text was accomplished without detracting from its meaning. It is to be regretted that this narrative has been unavailable up to now. Its appearance will, however, contribute to the understanding of the actual conditions under which men lived far better than formal documents can ever do.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

The First Frontier. By R. V. COLEMAN. New York: Scribner's, 1948. xii, 458 pp. $3.75.

The purpose of the author was to write for the layman an account of the advance of European settlers upon the American wilderness, beginning with the Spanish and the French in the 16th century and ending with the establishment of the English on the Atlantic Coast in the 17th century. The story is brought down through the wresting of the Dutch Colony of New Amsterdam from Governor Stuyvesant.

Mr. Coleman is familiar with the approved sources and has unfolded the dramatic history not merely of the conquest of the seabord, but also of the romantic search of the Spanish in the Southwest for treasure. If the story appears somewhat disjointed as the scenes and cast are shifted, the reader has only the kaleidoscopic character of human events to blame. The treatment has much to recommend it and the concept and its execution must be approved.

Mr. Coleman is a business man who has been able to indulge his flair for history. For nearly 40 years he has been an official of Charles Scribner's Sons and has had charge of several major cooperative undertakings in the field of history. It is surprising, therefore, that in spite of its typographical excellence, appropriate and lavish illustrations and handsome format, the book has been printed on coated paper which makes a dead weight most to hold.

The Chesapeake Bay colonies come in for fair and somewhat full treatment. The characteristics of the Maryland settlement and its living conditions are well presented, save in minor details. An exaggerated view is given of life at St. Mary's in the early years: "St. Mary's might be a long way from England, but the Calverts, the Cornwallises, and the rest of them lived up to the positions they had held in the Mother Country. The dining room tables were covered with fine linens. Silver spoons, cruets and bowls sparkled among the dishes. If the ladies did not have the very latest gowns from London, they made up for it by a display of gold chains, diamonds, and other jewels." There is an interesting account of Thomas Weston, one of the backers of the Plymouth Colony, who at first resided in New England, then moved to Virginia and finally became lord of Westbury Manor in Maryland. A correction should be made on page 222 where 1621 is given as the date of the first Lord Baltimore's visit to Virginia, a printer's error for 1629. Although undistinguished in style, the book is well organized and offers a valuable account of a stirring period.

JAMES W. FOSTER

29, Let's Go! A History of the 29th Infantary Division in World War II. By JOSEPH H. EWING. Washington: Infantry Journal Press, [1948]. 315 pp. $5.00.

The 115 Infantry Regiment in World War II. By JOSEPH BINKOSKI and ARTHUR PLAUT. Washington: Infantry Journal Press, [1948]. 370 pp. $5.00.

At the beginning of World War II, the 29th Infantry Division was complemented entirely of National Guardsmen from Maryland, Virginia, the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania while the 115th Infantry Regiment, a unit of the 29th, was composed of Guardsmen from Maryland counties. Both units fought from Omaha Beachhead in Normandy, France, to the Elbe River in Germany. The publication of these volumes, therefore, is of particular local interest.

Only in the sense that they do not bear the imprimatur of the Department of the Army are the histories unofficial. The authors have based their accounts on authoritative sources making liberal use of excerpts from High Command, Division and Regimental orders to present clear pictures of overall strategy and tactics. Against this background, they have thrown their narratives which they frequently supplement with a unique feature—the quoting of so-called "combat interviews" obtained by historian-interviewers from field soldiers shortly after the fighting men had emerged from engagements. The results are colorful and sometimes quietly thrilling accounts of each unit's adventures and accomplishments. The brutal shock of the landing, the deadly slugging through the hedgerow country toward St. Lo, the relentless pressure applied to the elaborate fortifications at Brest and the hammering drive to the Roer River, all come vividly alive.

Often, in histories of this sort, objectivity is lost in pride of accomplishment; the authors of these volumes, however, have calmly presented the stories of their units' setbacks as well as of their victories. Too, unit narratives occasionally present details which often escape the more general histories. For instance, it was something of a shock to this reviewer, at least, to learn that during all of the pre-invasion training in England, the High Command placed little emphasis on the natural defensive possibilities of Normandy's hedgerows, despite the fact that they had been commented upon by as early and as competent a field commander as Julius Caesar.

Both books are plentifully illustrated with exceptionally clear photographs and maps—the 29th's history, which is the more ambitious undertaking, especially so. This reviewer finds fault only with the lack of an index in both volumes—a fact which hampers the reference worker, but which will cause little concern to most users of the books who will be interested chiefly in brightening memories already becoming dim.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE

The Days of H. L. Mencken: Happy Days, Newspaper Days, Heathen Days. By H[ENRY] L[OUIS] MENCKEN. New York: Knopf, 1947. ix, 313, xi, 313; x, 299 pp. $4.50.

'S true, the three Mencken memorata that go to make up this opus have been separately published and some of them have been separately reviewed in this *Magazine* (1940, XXXV, 81-82; 1941, XXXVI, 444-446). But the appearance of all three in one volume offers the Baltimorean a chance to catch up on the things he intended to read and hasn't got round to. For the newcomer, the book ought to be required reading. Of course, such an one must be cautioned to allow for Mencken's delight in stirring up the animals. In time, the animals, if of any intelligence, get wise to that habit, and don't get stirred up. One old Baltimoron, as dry as Mencken is wet, got to the point where she enjoyed his digs at the bluenoses as much as he did. The author says he has been interested to have women tell him that their Baltimore childhood was not much different from his. That's perfectly true. Girls in Walbrook didn't frequent the livery stables as Henry did, but at least they lived in the same town and savored some of the same delights.

Heathen Days brings to mind the editorials H. L. M. used to write for the *Evening Sun*, for some of its pieces must have first seen the light there. They were always readable, and never more so than when the substance was a little thin so that your Mencken came through a little clearer. So too, the whole of *The Days of H. L. Mencken* needs only to be put into the hands of a person able to read. Let him start with some chapter whose title he likes. Or, let him begin, as the *Happy Days* does, with Henry's very earliest memory. But if he does that, he will go on, through the education, decidedly not all got in school, to the newspaper side of Baltimore years ago. Sometimes that view was serious, but mostly it was hilarious. He'll have to stop with William Jennings Bryan and Al Smith. For that is the end of the volume.

If only there were an index, maybe a very short one. There are so many bits you'd like to refer to without having to hunt.

ELIZABETH MERRITT

Francis Scott Key and The National Anthem. . . . By EDWARD S. DELAPLAINE. . . . [Reprinted from *The Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. 46-47]. Washington, D. C.: Columbia Historical Society, 1947. 14 pp.

This is the publication in book form of a lecture by Judge Edward S. Delaplaine before the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., with a foreword by R. Regis Noel, president of that Society, 1943-47; the object being to awaken interest in "the restoration and preservation of

Key's home along the Potomac in old Georgetown." An illustration of this home, from a picture most lovingly painted by John Ross Key, a grandson of Francis Scott Key, is included in the illustrations.

Judge Delaplaine is author of the biography, *Francis Scott Key, Life and Times*. For the events of Key's history, the reader is referred to that work. The most fascinating and revealing details of the present volume are its illustrations. First, we see Key as at St. John's, aged 14. At first glance he seems prim and precise but a closer look leaves no doubt that he got his full share of youthful fun while a student at Annapolis. This is from a miniature attributed to Philip A. Peticolas, now owned by the Maryland Historical Society. The next portrait in point of age suggests a young man of about twenty-three. It is a most delighful portrait, reflecting a nature overflowing with the generous high spirits of early manhood and in type recalls the young aristocrats of the early days of the French Revolution. At this time the idealist and poet was in the ascendant. This portrait is a copy after Rembrandt Peale, now owned by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The original is owned by a descendant of Key's daughter, Mrs. Charles Howard, at whose home Key died.

The portrait used as the frontispiece arouses misgivings. It is an adaptation of a small portrait by Joseph Wood, owned by the Walters Art Gallery. It has been unfortunately so often reproduced that most persons suppose it to be an authentic likeness. Alas, it is the same inartistically modified portrait of Key that appears on the current memorial postage stamps.

LUCY LEIGH BOWIE

China Trade Days in California: Selected Letters from the Thompson Papers, 1832-1863. Edited by D. MACKENZIE BROWN. With a foreword by ROBERT GLASS CLELAND. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1947. xvii + 94 pp. $3.00.

Twenty-five letters from the Thompson Papers in the library of the Santa Barbara Historical Society make up this slender volume. They have been selected from the "in" and "out" correspondence of Alpheus B. Thompson, a Yankee merchant who became a naturalized Mexican citizen and prominent hide-and-tallow trader, and as such they illustrate colorfully California's society and economy from the early 'thirties to the Civil War. Of unusual interest is the inclusion of two letters by Francis A. Thompson, infamous master of the brig *Pilgrim* in Dana's *Two Years before the Mast.*

More than half the correspondence falls within the period 1833-1846. It contains much information concerning the life and business of the California hide-droghers and merchants, but somewhat less of the China trade as a whole. The remaining letters tell of problems arising out of American occupation, the gold rush, and the Civil War.

Ounce for ounce, few books on California can equal this one for wealth of information, for charm, and for simplicity but effectiveness of editing. Professor Brown introduces his subject thoughtfully, ties the correspondence together with neat, accurate paragraphs, and adds just enough supplementary material in his footnotes. Professor Cleland has written a short but excellent foreword.

Unfortunately, the title is something of a misnomer. Though a part of the correspondence relates to the China trade in the conventional historical sense, much of it concerns the direct commerece between California and New England—the hide and tallow trade.

RAYMOND A. RYDELL

Los Angeles State College.

The Bounds of Delaware. By DUDLEY LUNT. Wilmington: Star Publishing Co., [1947]. 69 pp. $2.50.

Although it is not Mr. Lunt's purpose to promote schemes of territorial aggression against the state of his adoption, few Marylanders will be able to read his account of the establishment of the present boundaries of Delaware without experiencing some twinges of irredentism. His account of the methods used by William Penn to wrest legal possession of the Delaware country from the Lords Baltimore — not to mention Penn's success in extending the boundaries of Pennsylvania southward at Maryland's expense—is an interesting story, the recital of which will undoubtedly surprise some Marylanders whose knowledge of their present territorial limits is shaped more by road maps than by historical investigation.

The larger and more informative part of Mr. Lunt's study, it should be noted, was previously published in the March, 1947, issue of *Delaware History.* An undocumented prefatory chapter, entitled "William Penn and the Delaware Country," is frequently repetitive and adds little of historical worth to the remainder of his work.

JOHN R. LAMBERT, JR.

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

Unconquered. By NEIL H. SWANSON. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1947. 440 pp. $3.00.

Unconquered is the latest of Neil H. Swanson's novels dealing with the pre-revolutionary era. Ranging from England to Williamsburg and then to Pennsylvania during the days of the Pontiac conspiracy, Mr. Swanson has written an exciting story. Using a minimum of the long descriptive passages which so often clutter historical novels, Mr. Swanson has preferred to create his setting by means of the color of his fast paced dialogue, and by the action of his characters.

Manual of Coordinates for Places in Maryland. Baltimore: Maryland State Planning Commission, 1947. 151 pp. 50¢. (Supplement to the *Gazetteer of Maryland.*)

This booklet fixes the location of 12,000 places by means of coordinates based on the system used by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. Modern state maps show this grid system, which can also be applied to earlier maps. In time, it is hoped the system can be employed for indicating many more sites than those listed here.

Our Community: Laurel, Maryland. By the Social Studies Classes of Laurel Elementary School. Laurel: the school, 1948.

This mimeographed pamphlet results from an effort to provide a history of a community for use in the schools. It has been prepared with the cooperation of community leaders and field-work by pupils. Beginning with an outline of Indian life in the region, the story is carried through to the present day, thanks to extracts from standard works and interviews with residents. Where a community has as yet no written history, this praiseworthy but inexpensive attempt to furnish one should be emulated. The project was carried out by Mrs. K. L. Gough, Principal, and Miss Mary Alice Trice, Librarian.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Sketches of Iowa and Wisconsin, [Embodying the Experience of a Residence of Three Years in Thost Territories. . . . By JOHN PLUMBE, JR. Reprinted from the edition of 1839] Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society, 1948. [104] pp.

Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Montgomery County, Maryland. One Hundred Years of Progress. By A. D. FARQUHAR. . . . Sandy Spring, Maryland: the company, 1948. 54 pp.

The House of Brewer. By EDWARD DENTON BREWER. Tulsa, Okla.: the author, 1948. [158] pp. (Genealogy.)

NOTES AND QUERIES

WILL OF GRACE LLOYD, 1698

There is an abstract of the will of William Parker of London in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Volume XXXII, page 337 (1878). The will is dated January 3, 1672/3 and was probated July 24, 1673. Edward Lloyd was one of the witnesses. An abstract of the will of his widow, who had first been the wife of William Parker, has been given to the Society by Mr. Russell Slagle and comes from the estate of the late Mrs. Lawrence Bulkley of Shreveport, La. The reference is to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 93 Pye. Parker came to Maryland probably from Virginia in 1649 and was later a member of Cromwell's Commission Government. Later still he settled in London. The name of his first wife is unknown. His widow, Grace Parker, had been a widow Maulden of Maryland, and she married thirdly Edward Lloyd, formerly of "Wye House" in Maryland. See *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VIII, 85—(Lloyd Genealogy). Her will is as follows:

In the name of God Amen the tenth day of May Anno dni 1698 and in the tenth yeare of the reigne of our Sovereign Lord King William the third . . . I Grace Lloyd of the Parish of St. Mary Malfellon als White Chaple in Midd[lese]x widow being weak in body but of sound and perfect mind and memory . . . doe make and declare my last Will and Testament as followeth . . . ffirst and principally I comitt my soule into the hands of Almighty God . . . and my body I comend to the earth to be decently interred neer to my husband as may be in White Chappell Church and as touching such worldly goodes and estate which the Lord hath bestowed upon me I dispose of the same in man'er and forme following, that is to say

Impr'is I give and bequeath unto my granddaughter Elizabeth Buckerfield the money oweing unto me from Mr. Alexander Pollington on his bond and security and such linnen plate and other houshold goods as are putt up in a Trunck with my mark G x P thereupon sett to be received managed and disposed for her use by my over seers and trustees to be hereafter named to be paid and given to her at her age of one and twenty years or day of marriage which shall first happen and that the profitt and interest thereof in the meantime to be made and arise shall goe towards her maintenance and be paid to and received by my daughter Elizabeth her mother for that purpose.

Item I give and bequeath to my sonne ffrancis Maulden my silver bowle

Item I give and bequeath to my daughter Margaret Evans a Cawdell cup

Item I give and bequeath unto my daughter Grace Mitchell three gold rings

Item my will is that my granddaughter Elizabeth if her mother my Executrix shall see occasion and deserving to have the bedd and furniture linnen and necessaryes in a duplicate writing with my m'k remaining in my overseers hands the rest and residue of all and singular my goods chattles creditts rights and estate reall and personall whatsoever and wheresoever in England or Maryland or els where beyond the seas.

I give devise and bequeath unto my said daughter Elizabeth Buckerfeild and I make and ordaine her my said daughter Elizabeth Buckerfeild full & sole executrix of this my last Will and Testament and I do desire will and appoynt Thomas Parker and Joseph Haycock to be overseers and trustees of and in this my last will desireing them to be in aiding and assisting unto my executrix in the performance thereof with their advice and otherwayes and will my executrix to take their advice and I give unto each of my overseers twenty shillings a peece as a remembrance of my respects and for their care and paines and I doe hereby revoke make null and void all former and other Wills legacyes and bequests by me made given or published willing and appoynting this to be and stand for and as my last will and testament.

In witnesse whereof I the said Grace Lloyd the testatrix to this my last will and testament have sett my hand and seale dated in the day and yeare first above written

[The mark of the said Grace Lloyd]

Sealed published and deliv'ed by the said Testatrix for and as her last will and testament in the presence of

George Warrall
Elizabeth Bates
Wm Bower Scrivener

Codicil May 9 1698 Schedule of household goods given to Elizabeth Buckerfield

Probate 17 Feb 1700 Administration granted to Elizabeth Buckerfield daughter and Executrix

23 Dec 1706 A clerical error amended

Adventures of Job Ben Solomon, a Slave in Maryland—The William and Mary Quarterly for July, 1948, carries an entertaining article by Dr. Arthur Pierce Middleton of the staff of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., on the curious career of Job Solomon, born in Africa of mixed Arab and Negro ancestry. Captured as a young man by a rival tribe, he was sold in 1731 to the master of a slave trading vessel and brought to the Chesapeake Bay. Exposed for sale at Annapolis, Job was bought by a man named Tolsey (intended for Tolson?) who put him to work on his Kent Island plantation. After escaping to Delaware and being returned to his master, who treated him kindly, Job managed to make known his Moslem background and training,

was redeemed by persons in England who learned his story and was sent to London. There it was learned that his father was none other than the high priest of Boonda in the kingdom of Futa in Gambia. He was warmly received by savants and nobles and even presented at court. On being returned to his home where his father had died, he was immediately installed as head of his tribe. The story has been gleaned from the Gentleman's Magazine and other English publications and from Williamsburg and Boston newspapers of the time.

UNREST IN THE MILITIA, 1777 (?)

To Thomas Johnston Esqr. Governor of the Province of Maryland.*

The Humble Petition of Capt. Richd Dorseys Co of Artillery.

Most Humbly Sheweth

That Your Honours Petitioners Since their first time of Enlistment has never Receiv'd their Rations, and dont now Receive more than One pound Bread and One Pound Beef Pr. Day, which is not Sufficient for a Man without they Receive the Rest of the Rations thats Allowed us by the Honourable Convention.

That Your Honour's Petitioners are allow'd Indian Meal, Salt, Peas, Vinegar, Beer, Molasses, Sope, Candles &c which they Dont Receive nor no Value for them, which is very hard for a Man to live these hard times which is little Enough to find them in Shoes and Stockings.

That Your Honours Petitrs are Used more like Negroes than Men who are standing in the Defence of the Country they are Obligd to Work every Day with the Spade and Shovel and Receive nothing for it and are Informd that they are Allow'd Pay from the Honourable Convention which their officers Keep from them and Puts in their Own Pocket.

That Your Honours Petrs. is very Sorry that they Should be Under the disagreeable Necessity of Acquainting Your Honour that they are Commanded by Very bad Officers, who Dont use the Men like Soldiers and are so Mercenary that what the Men has a Right to Receive they put in their Pockets.

That Your Honours Petrs. is very bare in Cloathing, they have Receivd but One Suit of Clothes since their first Enlistmt. whch is now Out, and Winter Coming on fast if they dont Receive their Clothes for this Year they shant be able to Stand the Cold this Ensuing Winter.

That Your Honrs. Petrs behave themselves as well as any Company on the Continent and is Willing to Defend the Rights and Liberties of

* From the collections of the Society. Addressed to the Governor, the paper was sealed and evidently forwarded to Annapolis. The Company had been recruited in Baltimore during the summer and fall of 1777. There are no signatures.

the Country as far as lies in their Power if they Receive their Rights and are used like Soldiers.

That Your Honour's Petrs has made their address to the Honourable Convention but has met with no Redress and hopes Your Honour will take their Cause into Consideration and see them Justified.

And Your Petitioners will Ever Pray

By the Desire of the Aforesd. Company.

Preston—Gideon Vancleve Preston, born June 19, 1786, Baltimore, Maryland, died September 16, 1849, Hardin County, Ky. He married Ann White (1793-1865) August 19, 1811, Jefferson County, Kentucky. Ann was daughter of William White. Preston was a tailor and had a brother James who was a silversmith. Their mother was reputed to have been Mary Lee, who had brothers Archie and Will Lee and, I think, Charles Lee. Any information relative to the ancestry of Preston or William White will be appreciated.

Homer E. Carrico,
6703 Country Club Circle, Dallas 14, Texas.

Green of Virginia—Request any details whatsoever on the life or the children of General Moses Green, of Culpeper County, Virginia, who was living there in the 1830's and 1840's.

Frederick W. Franck,
Dept. of Foreign Languages,
University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Dorothy Mackay Quynn (Mrs. W. R. Quynn), previously a professor of history at Duke University and Goucher College, is now on the staff of the University of Maryland Study Center in Paris, France. Mrs. Quynn contributed an article on the Barbara Frietschie legend to the *Magazine* for September, 1942. ☆ Appointed Solicitor General of the United States by the President last year, the Honorable Philip B. Perlman has long been a distinguished member of the Baltimore Bar. He is the author of *Debates of the Maryland Constitutional Convention of 1867 (1923)*, and is a member of the Board of the Walters Art Gallery, and of the Baltimore Museum of Art. ☆ Mr. O'Connor is Historiographer of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York. ☆ Captain Dunn, U. S. N. (Retired), supervised preparation of volumes II and III of the *Naval Documents Related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France*, published by the U. S. Navy, 1935-1936.

For the photograph of the Amelung house on the cover the Magazine is indebted to Mr. Henry Kauffman.

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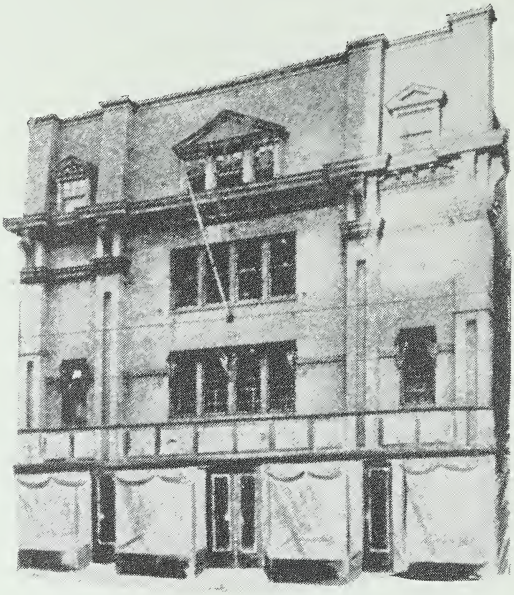

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Annual Subscription to the Magazine $3.00. Each issue 75c. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

James W. Foster, Editor.
John Ralph Lambert, Jr., Associate Editor.

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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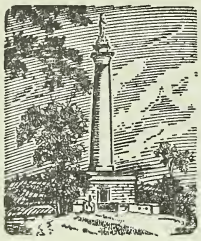

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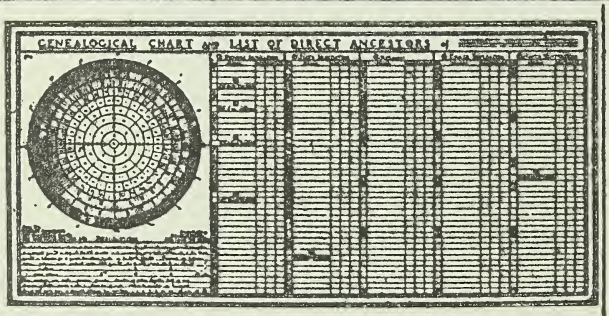

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLIII DECEMBER, 1948 Number 4

WILLIAM PINKNEY'S MISSION TO THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES, 1816

By Howard R. Marraro

THE STORY of the diplomatic mission of William Pinkney,[1] a native of Annapolis, Maryland, to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1816, was of far-reaching importance not only because it marked the first official diplomatic contact ever established between the United States and any of the states of the Italian peninsula,[2] but also because the indemnity claims, which gave rise

[1] For biographies on Pinkney, see: Rev. William Pinkney, *The Life of William Pinkney*, by his Nephew. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1853); Henry Wheaton, *Some Account of the Life, Writings, and Speeches of William Pinkney.* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1826); Henry Wheaton, "Life of William Pinkney," in *Lives of William Pinkney, William Ellery, and Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1844), 1-84; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 626-629; Horace Henry Hagan, *Eight Great American Lawyers* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co., 1923).

[2] It is true that Ralph Izard in 1777 was appointed by Congress Commissioner to Tuscany, but since he never reached his post, his cannot be considered as a

to the appointment of Mr. Pinkney, were generally regarded as affecting our national prosperity, character, and honor. Indeed, the story of these relations was so important that it arrested the attention of three federal administrations and held the interest of the American people for more than two decades.[3] In his *Thirty Years' View*,[4] Senator Thomas H. Benton (Missouri), a keen and shrewd observer of his times, wrote "that the indemnity obtained from Naples . . . may be looked upon as the most remarkable of Jackson's diplomatic successes." In fact, it was not until 1832 when John Nelson returned to America from Naples that agreement was reached.

The controversy between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies which resulted in the appointment of Mr. Pinkney, went back to the year 1809, when Napoleon I appointed his brother-in-law, Prince Joachim Murat (1767-1815) to the throne of the Two Sicilies. During the Napoleonic wars, Murat distinguished himself as an able cavalry leader. In 1800, he married Caroline, the youngest sister of Napoleon. In 1808, Napoleon appointed him to the throne of Naples, and although he bestowed upon himself the title of Joachim Napoleon, King of the Two Sicilies, which he held until 1815, his sovereignty never extended to the island of Sicily proper. After the fall of Napoleon, Murat lost his throne, was courtmartialed, and shot at Pizzo, in Calabria, on October 13, 1815.

But let us go back to the origin of the indemnity claims. On July 1, 1809, the minister of foreign affairs of Naples addressed to Mr. Frederick Degan, the United States consul there, an official invitation to all American vessels, provided with proper papers

diplomatic mission. Nor can Philip Mazzei's fruitless mission to the Grand Duke of Tuscany during the Revolution (1779-1783) be viewed as having a diplomatic character. In fact, until Pinkney's appointment, the United States had been represented in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies by a consul in Naples (1796), Palermo (1805) and Messina (1805). See "Personal Records of the Department of State."

[3] The convention to terminate the reclamations of the United States Government was not concluded until October 14, 1832, under Jackson's administration. For the text of this treaty and a brief account of its background, see Hunter Miller, *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), IV, 711-721. An account of the claims, their origin, negotiations, and settlement will be found in John Bassett Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), V, 4575-4589.

[4] New York: 1854, I, 604.

and certificates of origin, to repair to the Neopolitan ports.[5] Such vessels accordingly entered the port. Shortly afterwards, however, to carry out Napoleon's wishes, Murat promulgated decrees which enabled him to seize and confiscate the American vessels that ventured into Neapolitan waters; sell their cargoes for the benefit of the government; and take some of the vessels into the public service. These ships remained in that service and were still in it at the time that the legitimate ruler, King Ferdinand I, who had been restored by the Congress of Vienna as the King of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, was washing his hands of all participation in the plunder of the usurper Murat.

At the close of the second war with Great Britain, the United States Government demanded reparation and indemnity for the losses American merchants had sustained by the illegal seizure and confiscation of property. Accordingly, on February 28, 1816, Mr. Pinkney, who was generally regarded as a leading statesman and diplomatist of his day, was nominated by President Madison as Minister to Russia, "with a special mission to the King of the Two Sicilies.[6] The nomination of Mr. Pinkney as Minister to Russia was confirmed on March 7, but it was rejected in respect to the special mission to the King of the Two Sicilies.[7] Nevertheless, on April 17, Mr. Pinkney was again nominated by the following presidential message:

> It being presumed that further information may have changed the views of the Senate, relative to the importance and expediency of a mission to Naples, for the purpose of negotiating indemnities to our citizens for spoliations committed by the Neapolitan government, I nominate William Pinkney, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia, to be Minister Plenipotentiary to Naples, especially charged with that trust.[8]

The nomination of Mr. Pinkney was duly confirmed by the

[5] In his letter to Frederick Degan, the United States Consul in Naples, the Duke of Gallo, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated that it was "the intention of His Majesty, as a general measure, freely to admit American vessels coming directly into his ports, provided they had regular papers and had not by paying duty to Great Britain, or by submitting to be searched by English cruisers, brought themselves within the decrees of December 21, 1806, and January 9, 1808." Degan ceased to be Consul the same year. Alexander Hammett was appointed in December to succeed him. For a good account of the entire controversy, see the Rev. Christopher Perrotta, *The Claims of the United States against the Kingdom of Naples.* (Washington, D. C.: Belvedere Press, 1926).

[6] *Executive Journal,* III, 32.

[7] *Ibid.*, 35.

[8] *Ibid.*, 45, April 20.

Senate on April 23, 1816, by a vote of eighteen to fifteen,[9] and he was commissioned on the same day.[10] Three days later, on April 26, 1816, in a communication to the King of the Two Sicilies, whom he addressed as "Great and Good Friend," President Madison stated that in order to confirm between the two countries "perfect harmony and a good correspondence and to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction by a friendly discussion," he had appointed, with the advice and consent of the Senate, Mr. Pinkney to be "special minister to your Majesty on subjects of high importance to both nations." [11]

In his instructions to Mr. Pinkney, dated May 11, 1816, Secretary of State James Monroe reviewed briefly the nature of the controversy with the Neapolitan Government and urged Mr. Pinkney to manifest a spirit of conciliation towards the Government of Naples, adding: "The President [Mr. Madison] desires . . . that you will use every effort in your power to terminate the business with Naples as soon as it may be possible, and that you will proceed thence, immediately afterwards, to St. Petersburg." [12]

The motives which induced Mr. Pinkney to accept this double mission are revealed in a conversation he had with one of his friends to whom he is reported to have said: "There are those among my friends, who wonder that I will go abroad, however honorable the service. They know not how I toil at the bar; they know not all my anxious days and sleepless nights; I must breathe awhile; the bow for ever bent will break. . . ." "Besides," he added, "I want to see Italy; the orators of Britain I have heard; but I want to visit the classic land, the study of whose poetry and eloquence is the charm of my life; I shall set my foot on its shores with feelings that I cannot describe, and return with new enthusiasm, I hope with new advantages, to the habits of public speaking." [13]

Mr. Pinkney embarked, for the purpose of proceeding to his foreign missions, on board the *Washington*, a ship of the line, attached to the United States Mediterranean Squadron. The

[9] *Ibid.*, 46.
[10] Hunter Miller (editor), *Treaties*, III, 716-717.
[11] General Records of the Department of State. Record Group No. 59. Credences, Volume 1 (Oct. 9, 1789-Nov. 16, 1824). National Archives, Washington, D. C.
[12] Ms, National Archives. See below for the full text of this instruction.
[13] Wheaton, *Life*, 57.

vessel cast anchor in the Bay of Naples on July 13, and was immediately ordered into quarantine because it had touched at Gibraltar. Though he appealed to the Neapolitan Government to have the period of the quarantine shortened, Mr. Pinkney was informed that however much it was regretted by the Government, a quarantine of thirteen or fourteen days was indispensable. And, in fact, Mr. Pinkney and his company were not permitted to land until July 26. On the following day, he informed the Marquis di Circello, the Neapolitan Minister of Foreign Affairs,[14] by official note, of his arrival and character. The Marquis, in his reply, appointed July 31, for Mr. Pinkney's first interview with him.[15]

During the following two weeks, Mr. Pinkney and his wife were received by His Majesty the King. Together with Mrs. Pinkney and the members of his staff, he attended court, in his official capacity, to celebrate the birthday of His Royal Highness, the hereditary Prince of the Two Sicilies. In a despatch, dated August 24, 1816, to Secretary of State Monroe, Mr. Pinkney stated that he had been very kindly and respectfully received by the Neapolitan Government, adding that he had seen the Marquis di Circello serveral times and the King twice. He admitted, however, that he could not yet say positively what action would be taken on the spoliation matter.[16] In another despatch to Secretary of State Monroe, dated August 29, 1816, Mr. Pinkney wrote that his reception by the Neapolitan Government had been " extremely friendly, and in the highest degree respectful to the Government of the United States." [17]

In his first interview with the Marquis the conversation was conducted in French, because, although the Neapolitan had been for several years minister at London, he could, to Mr. Pinkney's surprise, neither speak nor understand a word of English. The conversation was therefore conducted in French which the Neapolitan spoke better than Mr. Pinkney. With some naivété, Mr. Pinkney noted that in this language " amidst a good deal of well-managed discourse on his part which rather related to me than

[14] Tommaso di Somma, Marquis di Circello (1737-1826). One of the most outstanding men in the Kingdom. In 1805 he was Neapolitan minister of foreign affairs and in 1821 he became President of the Provisional Government of Naples. From June 4, 1805, to June 10, 1822, he was minister of foreign affairs.

[15] Wheaton, *Life*, 152.

[16] MS, National Archives.

[17] MS, National Archives. See below for the full text of this despatch.

my mission, he [Marquis di Circello] made several observations which had a bearing upon my principal errand." The Neapolitan laid particular emphasis on the poverty of their public treasury, and "the rapacity of Mons. Murat." For a period of about two weeks, from July 31 to August 11, nothing further was done. On the last-named day, Mr. Pinkney, again visited the Marquis di Circello, reminding him of the principal object of his mission. To Mr. Pinkney's surprise, the Marquis professed not to understand to what he referred as the principal object of his mission; but when Mr. Pinkney mentioned the spoliations by Murat, he seemed suddenly to remember that he had at least talked to him of them before. Thereupon Mr. Pinkney informed the Marquis that he intended to present a written note on the subject. This course, the Marquis replied, would be acceptable to the Neapolitan Government.[18]

In fact, on August 24, 1816, Mr. Pinkney sent his official memorandum to the Marquis, containing a detailed and clear exposition of the indemnity claims and stressing the responsibility of a nation for wrongs committed and obligations incurred by its then present rulers upon a subsequent revolution in the government which stamped those rulers as usurpers in the view of their successors. Mr. Pinkney's argument though temperate and respectful was perfectly conclusive. It left no ground for cavil; no possibility for dispute. It was considered by some critics as one of the most lucid and masterly expositions of the subject in controversy that had ever been issued by an American representative abroad.[19]

It must be pointed out, in this connection, that Mr. Pinkney knew that his presence in the Kingdom had caused great conster-

[18] *North American Review*, Boston, XXI (Oct. 1825), 273-274.

[19] Wheaton, *Some Account*, 150. MS, National Archives. The full text of Mr. Pinkney's letter to the Marquis di Circello, dated August 24, 1816, has been published in several places, e. g., the pamphlet entitled *Message* (pp. 10-16) (footnote 33 *infra*), and in Pinkney's *Life*, 277-287. When it became known in England that Mr. Pinkney had submitted his official note to the Neapolitan Government, the *British Annual Register*, London, LVIII (1817), 132, reported that the presence of the American Squadron which "had the appearance of intimidation, excited great alarm in Naples, almost all of the ships of the royal navy having been disarmed . . . the Marquis di Circello, Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivered a note to each of the foreign ministers relative to the American claims, and couriers were sent to engage the protection of different courts." *Niles' Register* (II, 138-140) added that the Neapolitan Government manned batteries with heavy cannon, that 12,000 Austrian troops were placed on guard in the Castle and that Naples counted on the English fleet to cool the ardor of the American seamen. (*American Register*, 1818, 123). See Perrotta, *op. cit.*, 33-34.

nation and alarm in government circles. A panic all but seized the Neapolitan Court on his appearance. The poverty of the resources of the Neapolitan Government and the extent of the American claim agitated and embarrassed King Ferdinand and his advisers.[20] It was rumored that couriers had been hurriedly despatched by the Neapolitan Government to Vienna and to St. Petersburg to find out whether the emperors of Austria and Russia would back King Ferdinand in his refusal to pay the American claims. Meanwhile, under the inspiration of the Neapolitan Government, statements were published in various continental papers, suggesting that the American Government, being in want of a naval station and depot in the Mediterranean, would accept the island of Lampedosa as a full indemnity.

This statement was false. The truth is that informally Mr. Pinkney had advised the Marquis di Circello that Commodore Chauncey [21] had expressed the wish to have the privilege of a depot in the dockyard or public arsenal at Messina or Syracuse in Sicily for the use of the American Squadron. On August 28, 1816, the Marquis replied that it was impossible to grant such a request both because of the precedent it would set in favor of all the powers that had no establishment in the Mediterranean as well as because of the state of peace which existed between the Neapolitan Court and the Barbary Regencies. However, the Neapolitan Government, he added, would gladly grant "occasional facilities" that the American Commodore might request from time to time. Nevertheless, the Neapolitan newspapers, under orders of the Government, gave an entirely different construction to the American request. The following statement, for example, appeared in a Neapolitan paper on September 7:

> Mr. Pinkney has had several conferences with the foreign minister. The negotiations have assumed a character of moderation, which would soon bring them to an issue, if the English were not aggrieved by the arrangements. The Americans demand the island of Lampedosa. It is five leagues in circumference and two long; it is abundant in fruits and well wooded; it has a sure anchorage for a small fleet. But even suppose our court should cede it, it is to be considered that this isle is only twenty five

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[20] Pinkney, *Life*, 277-287.

[21] Commodore Isaac Chauncey (1772-1840), of Connecticut. In 1815 he took command of the *Washington* and with this vessel as his flagship he commanded the Mediterranean Squadron 1816-1818. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 40.

leagues from Malta, and that the English will not probably choose to have the Americans, as neighbours, in the Mediterranean.[22]

Meanwhile, it was rumored that the imperial courts had signified their intention to support Naples in its refusal to pay the claims and that Mr. Pinkney had been instructed not to push the claims to any definite issue. After waiting more than a month, without receiving any reply, Mr. Pinkney, on September 30,[23] wrote a private note to the Marquis di Circello pressing for an answer to his memorial, on the ground that he was obliged to proceed to Russia, and reminded him that the season was advancing. In consequence, Mr. Pinkney obtained another interview with the Marquis, during the course of which he was informed that an immediate answer was really impossible, because it was necessary to collect the papers relative to the confiscations and ascertain the amount of the claims; and that this was obviously not a matter of a few weeks. Mr. Pinkney then told him that he should be obliged to leave Naples without the answer, as he was determined to set out for Russia within a week. However, on the evening of that same day, Mr. Pinkney received a note from the Marquis, antedated by two days, which was in the form of a reply to Mr. Pinkney's private letter of September 30. In this note, the Neapolitan studiously avoided any reference to their last interview but renewed the hint, "that he will make it his duty to forward his official reply where Mr. Pinkney may indicate." [24]

In his despatch, dated October 5, 1816,[25] to Secretary Monroe informing him of the course of the negotiations, Mr. Pinkney wrote:

> Avoiding extremes of every kind, I have sought to write and speak with politeness but, at the same time, explicitly and firmly. My object has been to let the King and his ministers understand that the claim *must* be settled, and to place it upon such a ground as to convince them that we are in earnest in considering them as our debtors. Without being studiously conciliatory, I have forborne all menace . . . I might have contrived to display a more active and zealous importunity than my letters will be

[22] Commenting on this paragraph, an anonymous writer in the *North American Review*, XXI, (Oct. 1825), 277, felt that since it seemed probable that the United States would not get anything else from Naples, but that it might receive the island of Lampedosa, the subject was worthy of consideration.

[23] MS, National Archives. For full text, see *Message*, 22-23.

[24] *North American Review*, XXI, 274.

[25] Pinkney, *Life*, 152-154. MS, National Archives. See below for full text of this despatch.

found to describe; but it could only have been that teasing importunity which, wanting dignity and unauthorized by usage, has nothing to recommend its introduction into transactions like this. No proper opportunity has, I think, been missed to urge this government to a favorable decision. . . . The reasons suggested by this Government for a short postponement of its decision are such as I suppose I could not have quarrelled with, without putting myself in the wrong.—They are perfectly respectful to the United States, and of real weight in themselves. . . .

Mr. Pinkney's instructions did not allow him to wait indefinitely for an answer to his note. When it became obvious that no immediate reply could be expected, on October 1, 1816, Mr. Pinkney addressed a note to the Marquis di Circello requesting the usual passports and stating that he wished to " set out at the end of this week." [26] In fact, on October 3, Mr. Pinkney had his audience of leave and a few days later, departed for St. Petersburg, passing through Rome, Vienna, and Poland.

Before his departure, Mr. Pinkney, on October 7, 1816, addressed a letter to Mr. Monroe [27] in which he complained that his health had suffered in Naples.

The climate looks well enough [he wrote] (not better, however, than our own,) but it relaxes and enfeebles much more than ours. The so-much vaunted sky of Italy appears to me (thus far) to be infinitely inferior to that of Maryland. Everything here has been overrated by travellers, except the Bay of Naples, and the number and clamourous importunity of the common beggars, and the meanness of the beggars of a higher order, which it is absolutely impossible to overrate. After all, our country gains upon our affection in proportion as we have opportunities of comparing it with others.[28]

Mr. Pinkney had scarcely left Naples, when the Neapolitan Minister sent his official reply to the American's note of August 24. The Marquis di Circello's reply, dated October 15, only a few days after Mr. Pinkney had set out for St. Petersburg, was sent to the Duke of Serra Capriola, Neapolitan Minister at the Russian capital, who was instructed to deliver it to Mr. Pinkney. It is significant to note that the difficulties which, while Mr. Pinkney was present, threatened to retard that reply for many weeks and even months, quickly disappeared after his departure. In fact

[26] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 167. MS, National Archives. The full text of this note was published in *Message*, 24.

[27] See below for full text of this despatch.

[28] Wheaton, *Some Account*, 154. MS, National Archives.

the reply passed Mr. Pinkney on his way to the Russian capital and arrived there long before him. Immediately upon his arrival at St. Petersburg, the Duke of Serra Capriola manifested a very anxious desire that Mr. Pinkney should receive it. In the words of Mr. Pinkney: " He even entreated me to do so, with such earnestness, as it was not easy to resist. I refused, however, to have anything to do with his packet, &c." But the Duke of Serra Capriola finally prevailed upon the American to receive the packet, for the purpose of transmitting it to Washington. This Mr. Pinkney agreed to do because he had " no difficulty in consenting to forward to the Secretary of State of the United States anything, which by order of your Court, you may think fit to address to him."

Meanwhile, a copy of the Marquis di Circello's reply to Mr. Pinkney was also forwarded to the Count of Castelcicala, Neapolitan Minister at Paris, with instructions to communicate it to Mr. Albert Gallatin, the United States Minister to France.[29] In his letter to the American Government, enclosing a copy of the document, Mr. Gallatin observed, with great justice, " that it may be presumed that the Neapolitan Government delayed that note, in order to prevent the possibility of a reply; and that their intention in communicating it to me was to hasten its transmission to you." [30] Simultaneously, the substance of the Neapolitan's note was published in the newspapers at St. Petersburg and Vienna, in such a manner as to lead Mr. Pinkney to affirm, in his correspondence with the Secretary of State, that the Neapolitan Government, or its minister at Vienna or St. Petersburg, had dictated the publication.[31]

In substance, in his reply, the Neapolitan Minister rested the refusal of his Court to grant the American claims on three grounds: —first, that Murat was an usurper and that the legitimate sovereign of Naples was at war with him, and consequently not at all bound to discharge his obligations; secondly, that the confiscations were not even the acts of the government of Murat, but were forced upon him, by the direct and violent interference of Napo-

[29] Albert Gallatin (1761-1849). Born in Geneva, emigrated to America, became a diplomat, writer, and Secretary of the Treasury in the administrations of Jefferson and Madison.

[30] *North American Review*, XXI, 275-276. Extracts of Mr. Gallatin's letter to Mr. Monroe, dated Paris, Nov. 19, 1816, were published in *Message*, 29-30. An English translation of the Count of Castelcicala's note, dated Paris, Nov. 15, 1816, to Mr. Pinkney, was also published in *Message*, 30.

[31] *North American Review*, XXI, 278.

leon; and thirdly, that the proceeds of the sales of the confiscated property went, not to the public treasury, but to the private chest of Murat to furnish the means of his profusion and extravagance.[32]

The objections raised by the Neapolitan Government in its refusal to pay the claims did not satisfy the American Government and people. In fact, Mr. Pinkney's failure to obtain the indemnity caused such great disappointment in government and private circles that on January 30, 1818, the House of Representatives passed a resolution calling on the President for information on the subject. In consequence of this act, on February 28, 1818, Monroe, now Chief Executive, submitted a report from the Secretary of State, together with sundry papers relating to the claims.[33]

No immediate action was taken by the United States Government. However, on April 12, 1825, the Secretary of State, H. Clay, notified Mr. J. J. Appleton, of Massachusetts, who was, at the moment, Secretary to the British Legation, of his appointment as "commercial agent at Naples," and that the object was "to sound the Government of Naples as to the practicability of getting indemnity for our citizens for their numerous and large claims upon the government." [34]

Meanwhile, an anonymous writer in the *North American Review* [35] severely criticized Mr. Pinkney for his failure, suggesting that he [Mr. Pinkney] was no match for the wily Neapolitans and that he lacked the shrewdness to detect the treachery and duplicity of the Court of Naples. Arguing that the American claims were neither against Murat nor Ferdinand, but against Naples and the nation, the writer attempted to prove that it was not hard for Naples to refund the property. He recalled that some of the vessels confiscated were taken into the public service and were in the service of the restored king at the time that he disclaimed all participation in the plunder. The rest, with their cargoes, he wrote, were sold and went to furnish means, with

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting in Conformity to a Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 30th of January last, Sundry Papers, in Relation to the Claim of the Merchants of the United States, for Their Property Seized and Confiscated under the Authority of the King of Naples.* Read, and ordered to lie upon the table: March 2, 1818. House Doc. No. 130 (Washington: E. De Krafft, 1818).

[34] Instructions, United States Ministers, X (July 15, 1823-Dec. 30, 1825). National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[35] Vol. XXI, 269-299.

which the Neapolitan people received their favorite largess of *panem et circenses*; with which the streets and squares of Pompeii were uncovered; with which a new and spacious avenue was opened to Naples, with which an efficient police was maintained; with which bands of robbers, hitherto triumphant, were swept from the passes of Puglia and Calabria.[36]

It would seem that these charges against Mr. Pinkney remained unanswered until 1853, when his nephew, in his *The Life of William Pinkney*,[37] referring to these attacks against his relative, stated that Mr. Pinkney had been compelled to act upon the alleged reasons of the Government of Naples and upon the distinct and positive assurances of the Marquis. It would have been rude in the extreme, in the opinion of the Reverend Mr. Pinkney, to have called the candor and fair dealing of the Neapolitan Government in question upon mere suspicion. At the time that he was negotiating with the Marquis di Circello, the American minister did not know many things that came to light years later. On that basis, the writer concluded, Mr. Pinkney's failure to obtain satisfaction of the claims must be excused.

While Mr. Pinkney was still in Naples, an important incident occurred which deserves to be recorded here, because it helps to focus our attention on his character and also serves to illustrate the unusual diplomatic skill he displayed in dealing with an unpleasant international situation.

One day the Marquis di Circello informed Mr. Pinkney that a serious conflict had occurred between the crews of certain English and American vessels of war anchored in the port of Messina. The Neapolitan added that the Americans not only had used violence against the Englishmen but were also guilty of " atrocities and contemptuous conduct towards the sovereignty of the territorial authority, in defiance of the most cordial hospitality that friendship and good understanding required." The Marquis went so far as to wish that Americans avoid the ports of Sicily in the future. When he first heard of the incident, Mr. Pinkney, as he later informed Secretary Monroe,[38] presumed that the affair was of " no real importance," although it had moved the Neapolitans

[36] *Ibid.*, 292.
[37] p. 155.
[38] Letter dated Naples, Sept. 24, 1816. MS, National Archives.

a great deal, principally because, he felt certain, the English were parties to it and England, he added, was " of great weight at this feeble court." In subsequent discussions between Mr. Pinkney and the Marquis di Circello, the American did not disguise his dissatisfaction at the intimation of the Marquis, but since the American minister did not at the time have any details of the affair he thought it best to forbear comment upon it.

However, several days later, on October 6, 1816,[39] in reply to a communication (with enclosures) he had received from the Marquis di Circello, Mr. Pinkney notified the Neapolitan Foreign Minister that he was referring the subject to the United States Government, " whose respect for the peace and jurisdiction of friendly sovereigns is equal to its determination to exact the respect which is due to itself." He expressed great surprise at the impunity which that acknowledged outrage, " as disrespectful to the just authority of His Sicilian Majesty as it was insulting to the American flag, appeared to have enjoyed, and at the extraordinary oblivion into which . . . it seems to have passed," adding that the established reputation of Commodore Chauncey could not lead him to believe that he [the Commodore] could ever be forgetful of what he owed to any Sovereign, in amity with his government."

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated Naples, October 8, 1816,[40] Mr. Pinkney, in informing Mr. Monroe of the later developments in the case, admitted that the correspondence of the Marquis had provoked him, " for it is unjust in itself and indecently parcial to the English." Referring to the concluding words of his reply to the Marquis di Circello, Mr. Pinkney stated that they appeared to him to be indispensable, for, he added, " such people ought not to be suffered to suppose that we will condescend to accept any hospitality from them if it be not such as it ought to be." Mr. Pinkney left Naples shortly after dispatching this letter to the Secretary of State and here the affair seems to have ended. Nevertheless, the manner in which Mr. Pinkney conducted himself in his conversations and correspondence with the Marquis di Circello proved his determination to defend the rights of American citizens even under the most difficult conditions.

[39] MS, National Archives.
[40] MS, National Archives.

A word about the documents published as an appendix to this article. Pinkney's note dated August 24, 1816, to the Marquis di Circello, making formal request for the American claims, and the formal reply of the Marquis di Circello, dated October 15, 1816, are too long to be included in this collection. However, the full texts of both documents may be found in the President's *Message*. Of the following seven documents bearing on Mr. Pinkney's mission to Naples four (dated August 29, September 30, October 9, November 3) have never been published heretofore, and of the other three (dated May 11, August 29, October 5) only brief extracts were published in the President's *Message*. The documents below are arranged in chronological order.

James Monroe to Pinkney

Department of State, May 11, 1816.[41]

Sir

Being appointed with [sic] the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Russia, and in a similar trust, to the King of Naples, the duties of the latter mission which is special, will engage your attention, in the first instance. The Washington, a Ship of the Line, is ordered into the Chesapeake, to receive on board, and to convey you and your family to Naples. You will be furnished with the usual Commission and Letter of Credence to the King.

The principal object of your mission to Naples, is, to obtain indemnity, for the losses which our citizens sustained by the illegal seizure and confiscation of their property by the Neapolitan government. You will be furnished with such evidence in support of the claim, as is in possession of this Department, and as notice has been given to the Collectors in the principal cities of your appointment and its object, that it might be communicated to the parties interested, it is expected that you will receive much further light on the subject directly from them.

The President does not entertain a doubt of the right, of the United States, to a full indemnity for these losses. They were inflicted by the then government of the country without the slightest cause. The commerce of the United States was invited into the Neapolitan ports, by special Decrees, with the promise of protection and encouragement, on the faith of which, many ships having entered, with valuable cargoes, the whole amount was seized, by the Government itself, and converted to public use. For this very extraordinary and unlawful act, no plea has been urged, that we have heard of, except that of necessity, which is no argument against indemnity.

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[41] Extracts from this letter were published in *Message*, 7-8. Except for minor changes in capitalization and punctuation the text of the extracts is the same as that given here.

The injury being inflicted by a government in full possession of the sovereignty of the country, exercising all its powers, recognized by the Nation, and by Foreign Powers by Treaties and other formal acts, of the highest authority, it is not perceived on what ground, an indemnity can be refused. No principle is better established, than that the nation is responsible, for the acts of its government, and that a change in the authority does not affect the obligation. In the disordered state of that country for several years past, it has been thought useless, to press this claim, but now that affairs appear to be better settled, it would be improper, longer, to delay it. The President indulges a strong hope that reparation will now be made. In the discharge of this trust, in the manner of the negotiation, and in the provision for the debt, should such be made you will manifest a spirit of conciliation towards the government of Naples. Any reasonable accommodation, as to the time and mode of payment, which may be desired, will be cheerfully allowed.

As you will be well acquainted with the nature of these claims, and the right of the United States to an indemnity; with the principles on which it is founded, and the arguments and facts which support it; it is unnecessary for me, to enter further, into the subject. The President has full confidence that nothing will be wanting on your part, to secure success to the mission. Satisfied that you will discharge its duties with equal ability and discretion it is thought improper, by too much precision, to impose any restraint on your judgment, either as to the manner, or the argument, to be used, in the negotiation.

Other objects will claim your attention in this mission. It is important to place the commerce of the two Nations, on a footing of reciprocal advantage. You are acquainted with the laws of the United States, regulating their commerce with other Powers, by which, that of Naples, enjoys the advantage, of nations, the most favored, with whom there is no Treaty. By explaining these Laws to the Government of Naples, you may be able to promote, corresponding regulations, in favor of our trade, there. It is desirable to form a Treaty of Commerce for the enlargement and protection of this trade, and altho' the nature of your mission, and the duties you will have to perform elsewhere, forbid, such a delay at Naples, as would be required, for that purpose, it may be in your power, to acquire information, as to the importance of the object, and the practicability of attaining it, which may be very useful. You will therefore make this an object of your attention, and communicate the result of your enquiries, to this Department.

The relations between the United States and the Powers bordering on the Mediterranean are becoming dayly [sic] more interesting. Our trade, with the dominions, of the Powers of Europe, in that quarter, is already important, and it is extending to those of Turkey, in Europe and Asia, and of Russia, on the Black Sea. For the protection of this trade, against the Barbary Powers, the United States have been compelled, to send a strong naval force, into the Mediterranean, which, it is probable, from present appearances, they will find it, equally necessary, to maintain there, for some time. A liberty to resort to the ports of the King of Naples, with

a security for amicable treatment, in them, is very desierable [sic]. The favorable influence which our Squadron, while in the Mediterranean, will have on the trade of the Italian States, in regard to the Barbary Powers, will be, a sufficient inducement, it is presumed, to any of them, to offer this asylum to our ships of war, with hospitality and kindness. You will endeavour to obtain the sanction, of the Neapolitan Government, to this accommodation, without, however, pledging any protection in return, on the part of our squadron, to the commerce of Naples. A letter to the Minister, with his answer to this effect, will be sufficient.

You will have a favorable opportunity at Naples to acquire much information, of the state and prospect of our commerce, with the Italian States and the Levant, and of the disposition of the several powers, including Turkey to encourage it. All the information which you can acquire on this subject will be useful.

Your mission to Naples being special, its object limited, and being likewise anticipated by the Neapolitan government, it is expected, that it may be concluded, in a few interviews. It is very important that the United States should be represented at S^{t}. Petersburg, by a Minister of the highest grade, employed by them, without any delay, which can be avoided. The President desires therefore, that you will use every effort in your power, to terminate the business with Naples, as soon as it may be possible, and that you will proceed thence, immediately afterwards, to S^{t} Peterburg.

I have the honor to be &c.

James Monroe

Pinkney to James Monroe

Naples. August. 29th 1816 [42]

Sir

The Washington cast anchor in the Bay of Naples on the 13th of last month, and was immediately ordered into Quarantine because she had touched at Gibraltar.—Although I was aware that the appearance of the Plague in Calabria and elsewhere had excited such alarm in the Mediterranean as that a public Ship, conveying one of the Princesses of the Neapolitan royal Family, had been subjected to Quarantine at Naples, and anthor public Ship, conveying the present Duchess of Berri from Naples to the South of France, had been subjected to Quarantine at Marseilles, I though it advisable to make known without Delay to the Minister for foreign affairs [the Marquis di Circello] by an informal Note my public character, and at the same time to invite him to use his authority to shorten our Quarantine as far as might be found consistent with Prudence. A copy of his reply to that Communication (and to another informal Note,

[42] This despatch was received by the State Department Jan. 4, 1817. Only brief extracts were published in *Message*, 8-10. There are many changes in capitalization and punctuation in the text there published.

in which I transmitted two Letters received for him by the Legation from the Neapolitan Consul at Gibraltar) is enclosed.—This reply was accompanied by some verbal explanations through a Gentleman at Naples; and the result of the whole was that, however it might be regretted by the Government, a Quarantine of thirteen or fourteen Days was indispensable.

In the Course of the 26th, our quarantine being at an End, I came on Shore.—The necessary orders were given by the proper Department for the landing, without Inspection, of the Baggage of all who were attached to the Legation; and every Disposition was shown to treat the Mission with the utmost Civility.—

On Saturday the 27th I prepared an official Note to the Marquis di Circello, announcing my Quality of Envoy Extraordinary to The King; but, as I wished that it should be delivered by the American Consul with a view to an Enquiry as to some matters of Ceremony, it did not come to the Hands of the Marquis until the Morning of Monday the 29th;—His answer, appointing Wednesday the 31st for our Interview, was sent immediately. You will find enclosed a Copy of each of these Notes.

My reception on the 31st was extremely friendly, and in the highest Degree respectful to the Government of The United States.—The regular purpose of my Visit was to show my credentials, furnish a Copy, and arrange the customary audience.—I did not therefore suppose that it presented a suitable opportunity for introducing a very detailed Explanation of the objects of my Mission; but, in Conformity with a desire expressed by the Marquis himself, I stated them to him as fully as was necessary to enable him to communicate them to the King.—With regard to my audience (for which I was not yet prepared with the Dress which Usage requires) he referred it to myself to request it by a Note whenever it should be convenient to me.

Although the Marquis di Circello was (as you know) for several years the Minister of this Court in London, he does not speak a word of English, and does not understand it when it is spoken by others.—Our conversation was therefore in French, which he speaks much better than I do.—Amidst a good deal of well managed Discourse on his part which rather related to me than to my Mission, he made several observations which had a bearing upon my principal Errand.—He spoke of the poverty of their public Treasury in Terms somewhat more strong than I expected, of the unprincipled manner in which Monsr Murat (as he styled him) appropriated to his own use whatever of value he could lay his Hands upon and, in particular, the Vessels and merchandize belonging to our Citizens, of the prodigality with which he dried up all the usual Resources of the Country and dissipated moreover all the Means which Rapacity afforded.—He drew no very precise Conclusion from those & similar remarks, although I took such notice of them as their Tendency prescribed; but upon the whole it was evident that the Claim which I was charged to make in behalf of our Merchants was not likely to be very readily admitted, and that I should only waste my Time by talking over its merits from day to day with a Minister who could of himself decide nothing, and whose Report, of my

Statements & Arguments, to those who must make or greatly * [43] influence the final Decision, would not be the most advantageous Channel by which they might be communicated.—In Consequence, before the interview was closed, I determined to propose the Claim as soon as possible in an official Note, and in the meantime to forbear to urge it in conversation, with any other view than to obtain from the Marquis di Circello such intimations as might be useful to me in the preparation of my Paper.—

On the 3[d] of the present month, I wrote to the Marquis, as I had promised, respecting my Audience, which took place on Wednesday the 8th, at a palace of the King at Capodimonti [sic] on the Edge of Naples. —In the short speech which on this occasion I made to the King in French (for he too appears not to understand English) I confined myself to the customary general Expressions.—His reply was very courteous, and his whole Deportment and Conversation were then (and have been since) of the same complexion. After my audience I presented Mr. King, the Secretary of Legation, together with my Son Charles, and the three other American Gentlemen who are with me; and they were received with great politeness.

On Sunday the 11[th], I had another Interview with the Marquis di Circello, to which Mr. King accompained me.—The main Object of it was to ascertain, according to my Instructions, the Inclinations of this Government as to commercial arrangements.—In reply to the suggestions, by which I thought it proper to lead to a Conversation on that Subject, the Marquis observed that he could not at that moment say anything definite upon it; that if I would mention to him specifically, then or at some future Interview, my own Ideas of the Nature & Conditions of such a Treaty as the Government of the United States would probably desire, he would willingly receive the Statement as informal and consult the King upon it; that he ought however in Candour to inform me that in the present unsettled Situation of Europe he did not believe it would be agreeable to the King to conclude a commercial Convention with any Power; that he

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* The Minister of Finance (The Chevalier di Medici) is understood to be the ablest man in the Government.

[43] Luigi de' Medici, Prince of Ottaviano and Duke of Sarno (1759-1830). Chevalier and statesman. Involved in the Jacobin plots, he was arrested on Feb. 27, 1795. He was President of the Royal Finances (July 1803). He was also Director of the State Secretaryship (April 1804). In 1806 he followed the Bourbons in Sicily. He got into difficulties with the Sicilian Parliament as a result of which William Cavendish Bentinck (1774-1839), the English agent in Sicily, who had instituted a liberal government, forced the King to exile him. In 1814 he participated in the Congress of Vienna. After the restoration of the Bourbon King, de' Medici became minister of finance, and after Aug. 16, 1823, he was *interim* president of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs. In 1827, he succeeded in forcing the Austrians to leave the Kingdom, but he was disgusted with Metternich and to prove that he was powerful, he used severe measures to quell the uprising in Cilento in 1828. See: Luigi Blanch, "Luigi de' Medici come uomo di stato e amministratore," in *Archivio Storico Napoletano* (Naples, 1925), 101-197; A. Simioni, *Le origini del risorgimento politico dell' Italia meridionale* (Messina, Principato, 1921), I, 414 ff; II, 188 ff; Piero Pieri, *Il regno di Napoli dal 1799 al 1806* (Naples, 1928).

thought it not improbable that hereafter and by Degrees, they might be so circumstanced as to find it practicable to make such a Convention with the United States; and that at any rate it would give him pleasure to receive from me any thing which looked to that Event.—I closed the Conversation on this Head by telling the Marquis [sic] that I should perhaps take another opportunity for further Explanation with regard to it.

I then adverted to the " principal object of my Mission," and intimated that I should very soon send him a Note upon it.—To my Surprize he professed not to understand to what I alluded as the *principal object of my Mission*; but, when I mentioned the Spoliations by Murat, he seemed suddenly to remember that I had at least talked to him of them before, and immediately, without giving me Time to proceed, remarked that he would relate to me frankly all that the present Government had been able to discover respecting them.—He said that Murat's conduct in that affair appeared to be so bad that nothing could be worse and that it amounted to a downright Robbery; that it appeared that the proceeds of the Sales had been ordered by Murat into the public Treasury, but that in a few months he took them out again, and they knew not what he had done with them.—To all this I thought it sufficient to answer that, whatever might have become of these proceeds, I hoped the King would cause our merchants to be indemnified for the Loss of them; but that I had no Desire at this interview to do more than inform the Marquis di Circello that I believed it would be as well to present the whole of that Subject to him without Delay in a note to which I flattered myself I should have such a Reply in writing as would be satisfactory to my Government.—Without either admitting or denying the responsibility of his Government, he said that such a Course would be acceptable to him and proper in itself, and that his answer should not be unnecessarily postponed.—His manner, while this Topick [sic] was under Notice, was kind and even good humoured, although he could not and perhaps did not wish to disguise that it was by no means a pleasant one.—

Before I left him I mentioned to him (informally) a wish, which had been suggested to me by Commodore Chauncey, that, if he should think fit to frequent a Port in Sicily with our Squadron, this Government would allow him to have a Depot there for its Use, as had formerly been done.—The Marquis replied that certainly the Squadron would have a perfectly hospitable reception in all the Ports of His Majesty, but that he doubted about the Depot. His Impression was that it had never been granted to any Nation, but he would enquire & let me know. He has since written to me to say Indisposition has prevented him from attending fully to this Matter, and that the Moment he is able he will take the King's orders upon it,* and apprize me of them.

On the 28th Instant, yesterday morning, I sent in my Note upon Murat's Confiscations. The necessity of making some previous Enquiries here, upon matters connected with them, had a little retarded the Completion of the Note; and, after it was ready, I concluded that I should lose nothing

* I had reminded him of it by a private Note.

by withholding it for a few Days, especially as the Marquis di Circello was incapable of attending to Business and had so informed me.

What will be the answer to the Note it is impossible to conjecture with any thing like Certainty.—It may be such as to make it necessary for me to reply to it; but the President may be assured that my further Stay in Naples shall be as short as I can make it.

I have the Honour to be—with the highest Consideration—Sir

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

Wm. Pinkney [44]

Pinkney to James Monroe

Private Naples 29th August 1816 [45]

My dear Sir

It is supposed here to be improbable that this Government will *at present* yield to our Demand about Murat's Spoliations; but it is impossible to ascertain with certainty upon what Grounds it will decline to pay. Those who undertake to conjecture differ among themselves. Extreme poverty will doubtless be one Ground, although not mentioned. The manner in which Murat applied the proceeds will I presume be another; and it is said that his dependent Situation with regard to France, and the fact (or rather as allegation) that he confiscated under the orders of Bonaparte, as that Bonaparte shared the Spoil, will be another. We shall see.—I am informed that the proceeds, as they came to the Hands of the Government, did not much exceed a Million of Dollars.—The *vessels* sold for very little and, although the Merchandize sold well, the fiscal System of the Country was then (as it is now) so corrupt in all its Branches that the Mass of the proceeds stopped *in transitu* and only an inconsiderable part got into the Treasury.—

You will perceive that my Note to the Marquis di Circello states that some of the Vessels are now in the possession and service of this Government. I think there are three. What they will do with *them* I know not; but it is imagined that they will offer to restore them or to make Compensation to the Extent of their Value which is considerable.—My note says very little about those Vessels for obvious reasons.

Although my mission produced as I am told *some* sensation here (and the Commodore's making the Bay of Naples a rendezvous for the Squadron preparatory to his going to Sicily, perhaps produced more.

I have been received with great Kindness and Distinction.[46] The

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[44] At the bottom of the page the following date is given: Aug[t] 24-16, which is different from the date that appears on the heading of the despatch.

[45] This despatch is not included among the documents published in *Message*. It was received by the State Department on Jan. 4, 1817.

[46] Records in the National Archives, Washington, D. C., indicate that during this period Mr. Pinkney attended several important social functions. On Aug. 25, 1816,

Commodore & the officers of the Squadron have also been received but those were no such Sensation.—I presented Commodore Chauncey and Commodore Perry [47] to the King, and they were as the Phrase is "graciously received."—The Captains would all have been presented if they had thought fit.—Mrs. Pinkney has been presented to the King—and we have had as much attention as it is possible to show us by Invitations to Balls galas &c.—Three Days ago Mrs. Pinkney & Myself had a formal audience of the Duke and Duchess del Genovese.—She is the King's Daughter & he is the Brother of the King of Sardinia. They were very courteous.—

You will discover that my note to the Marquis di Circello of the 24th Instant is in some Degree drawn up with reference to the sensation above mentioned—that is to say with great Care to avoid every thing like menace. —The subject of that Note is the most delicate & difficult that can be imagined. I found it quite a Task to write upon it in such a manner as to satisfy myself that I had gone far enough without going too far.—I hope that it will appear to the President to be a discreet Paper, and yet a firm and direct Exposition of our Case.—I have endeavoured to exhibit the Claim with all possible Strength, while I shunned whatever might produce Irritation or Ill Will.—I could only have made more of the Argument by making the Note ungracefully long.—A laborious view of the Subject would have been unsuited to a Note which merely introduced the Claim.— I think it a good Claim—and that it must finally succeed if it should even fail now. At any rate—our Citizens, who have been plundered, will be convinced by what is now doing that their Interests have not been neglected.—

As to the Commercial Subject, there is no Disposition here to make any arrangement with us.—The actual State of Things is too advantageous for them, and they have nothing to gain (according to their policy) by a Change. I will explain this hereafter.

We understand here that L[d] Exmouth [48] is expected in the Mediterranean

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Mr. and Mrs. Pinkney attended a royal ball held at His Majesty's Casino at Chiatamone. The following day, Aug. 26, 1816, the minister plenipotentiary of Sardinia informed Mr. and Mrs. Pinkney that the Duke and Duchess of the Genovese would receive them on Aug. 27th, at 11 a. m.

[47] Captain Oliver H. Perry (1785-1819). Born in Rhode Island. In 1816-1817, as Commander of the *Java*, Perry cruised the Mediterranean. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 490.

[48] Edward Pellow first Viscount Exmouth (1757-1833). English Admiral. Early in 1816 he was ordered to visit the several North African powers to obtain the release of all British subjects. This was readily granted by Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. However, the dey of Algiers refused a request to abolish Christian slavery. Exmouth was then ordered to attack the Algerines. The fire continued for eight hours, and the batteries and a great part of the town was silenced. The next day Exmouth received a message granting all his demands, and this was finally confirmed on Aug. 29th. Some 3,000 slaves mostly Italians and Spaniards, were liberated and sent to their respective countries. Thereupon Exmouth returned home. See Edward Osler, *Life of 1st Viscount Exmouth* (1835); *Dictionary of National Biography*, XV (1921), 711-715.

to act at Algiers. There are not wanting persons who believe that our naval operations in these Seas are to be watched by His Lordship.—I suppose that to be idle speculation.—

My Mission has thus far been pleasant but it will be a severe Expence to me. The funds allowed will not be sufficient to take me to St. Petersburgh; and when I get there the actual Salary will fall short of the Expence of the plainest Living, as I have been informed by persons at Naples who have lived long in St. Petersburgh.[49]

I have the Honor to be my dear Sir

Your sincere Friend & obedient Servant

WM. PINKNEY

P. S. I believe the Depot in Sicily will not be granted—but that it will be *kindly* refused.

PINKNEY TO ROBERT OLIVER, OF BALTIMORE [50]

Naples. 7, September 1816

My dear Sir

I find that it will be necessary for me to avail myself, here and at St. Petersburgh, of a part of my pecuniary means in America. I understand that the best mode will probably be to draw on you; and I suppose that through Mr. Falconet I shall have recourse to that mode before I leave Naples, which I expect to do in a few Days, although my mission to this Government is not yet brought to a Close. The sum will not exceed $6000.

We have just heard of Ld. Exmouth's Success at Algiers. The news is certainly good in many respects; but it is not calculated to promote my purpose here.

I am happy to have it in my power to speak very advantageously of your Son. And, as to Mr. D'arcey, I feel very much indebted to you for being instrumental in making him of our party. He is one of the most estimable men I have ever known.

Will you have the goodness to assist William in sending my coach (if not sold) from Baltimore to St. Peterburgh in the Spring. Perhaps it wd. be well to add the Chisa [chaise?]. The promised wine of course will not be forgotten.

Your sincere Friend

WM. PINKNEY

Robt. Oliver Esq.

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[49] Theodore Lyman in his *Diplomacy of the United States* (Boston, 1826), p. 381, table 2, records from official documents that for his mission to the Two Sicilies Pinkney received $9,000 for his "outfit" and $1,995.23 for "contingent expenses," a total of $10,995.23. This, of course, was in addition to other sums paid to him for services rendered in connection with his mission to Great Britain (1806-11) and Russia (1816-1818).

[50] From the Oliver Collection, Maryland Historical Society. This letter was called

PINKNEY TO THE MARQUIS DI CIRCELLO

Naples. Septr. 30th 1816 [51]

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary of the United States of America, had the honour to receive last night the note of His Excellency the Marquis di Circello, bearing date of the 27th Instant, upon the Subject of the Note of the Undersigned of the 24th of August.—

The undersigned certainly regrets that the Government of His Sicilian Majesty has not been able already to honour him with a precise reply to that Note; and he regrets still more that, on account of the difficulty of collecting the Information supposed to be necessary to a correct Decision upon the claim which it preferred, he cannot hope to have such a reply during the Time to which he is obliged to limit his present Stay in Naples.

He is perfectly sure, however, that the Epoch is at Hand when His Majesty's Government will be possessed of this Information, and when the Justice of the Claim of the Government of the United States in behalf of its injured Citizens will be fully perceived and distinctly acknowledged.

The Undersigned, in answer to that part of the Note of The Marquis di Circello which proposes to send a Reply, to the Note of the Undersigned of the 24th of August, wheresoever the Undersigned may indicate, has the honour to state to the Marquis di Circello that, upon this point, as well as upon all such ulterior Steps as his mission and the Subject of it may be calculated to produce, the Undersigned will think it his Duty to refer himself to his Government, which at the same time that it will give their due weight to the reasons which are now assigned for a short postponement of the Claim in question, will take such measures as it shall think the Case requires with regard to the future.

The Undersigned takes this occasion to renew to H. E. the Marquis di Circello the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

WM. PINKNEY

PINKNEY TO JAMES MONROE

Naples, Saturday. Octr. 5th 1816 [52]

Sir:

On Sunday the 29th. of last month I had an Interview with the Marquis di Circello, in pursuance of the Intention announced in my last.—I pressed him for his promised answer to the note of the 24th of August, and insisted that if he could not reply to it immediately he would name the Time within which it was probable he could do so.—He said that an immediate answer was really impossible, and that he could not, without

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to the writer's attention through the kindness of Mrs. Laurence Hall Fowler, donor of the Oliver Collection.

[51] Not included among the documents published in *Message*.

[52] Extracts from this despatch were published in *Message*, 18-22.

running the risk of misleading me, fix the precise Time for the giving of such an answer as sh[d]. be categorical.—I asked the reason for this. He observed that the papers relative to the Vessels & Cargoes for which we now demanded an Equivalent had in Murat's time been scattered about in such a way that with all the Diligence they could use, they had not yet been able to collect them or such Information that might stand in their place; that all proper Steps had been taken by the King's Government for obtaining these papers and whatever else was connected with and material to our Claim, and that they hoped that they would soon be successful; that our Claim, apparently of large amount, was made upon those who confessedly had no participation in the transaction upon which it was founded; that it was therefore manifest they had all their Knowledge of those transactions to gain; that they were sincerely desirous of understanding them thoroughly; that, without all the knowledge of the Circumstances of the case which could at this Time and by due inquiry be recovered, the King could not decide whether he was or was not answerable to us as we alledged; that a Decision would undoubtedly be hastened and made known to me as soon as possible and as he believed within a period of time not any means distant; but that I must perceive it was not in his power, without practising Disingenuousness, to assure me that this could be done in a few weeks.—In some further Conversation on this point I told him that I feared I should be obliged to leave Naples before his answer was prepared; and as he knew that my ulteriour [sic] Destination was St. Petersburgh, I informed him finally that I had determined to set out for Russia on Saturday the 5[th]. instant, (this day) unless by waiting a week or two more I could be sure of adjusting the Business of my mission.—He replied with his characteristical good-breeding that they should be extremely sorry to lose me, and that they hoped to have me with them for some time but that, if my Duty elsewhere called me away he would undertake to send the Answer to my note the moment it could be given, wherever I would indicate; that there was no probability that if I left Naples as soon as I spoke of, or even a week or two later, I should receive the answer here, but that if it *could* be given so promptly it *should*.—I rejoined that I doubted if without Instructions it would be well for me to receive the answer, after I had left the King's Court & Territories; that I confidently trusted the answer would admit our Claim (although we had no desire to urge them inconveniently [sic] as to Time or mode of payment or even to push the demand to its utmost Extent) but that, however little such a Result was to be expected, the answer might contest our Demand, or an important portion of it, in which case it was both my Duty & my Inclination to reply to the answer, and to maintain, as I did not fear to be able to do, the Grounds of fact and Law upon which I had already relied; and that this could not be done with advantage, nor perhaps with propriety, unless with the approbation of my Government, after my Departure for another Station.—The Marquis immediately expressed an opinion that I might regularly receive the answer after I had left the Neapolitan Dominions; and, in consequence of a

question which I put to him in this Stage of the Conversation (whether it might not be more in Rule to offer to deliver the answer to whom and where the *Government of the United States* should think fit) he said that he should have no objection to any course which I preferred, but that he thought it would be best (*as being more respectful to me*) that he should undertake to send the answer as I should prescribe, especially as this Course essentially included the other. It would have been impossible for me to dispute an opinion referred to so civil a nature [sic] even if the matter had been worth disputing.—I do not think, however, that it was worth more words than had been bestowed upon it and I therefore left the Marquis to take his own way upon it, reserving to myself the Power of taking mine in due Season.

In the whole of this Conversation of which I have very shortly stated the Import not a Word was dropped by the Marquis condemning our Claim or intimating that it was likely to be rejected, although much that I said was calculated to provoke him to do so.—But again, he said nothing which amounted to an admission that the Claim would be acknowledged.

Before I went away I requested (and he promised) that he would write me a Note, expressing briefly what had passed between us; and in the Evening of the same day I received from him a Paper of which a Copy is among the Enclosures written and sent in consequence of that Request; but upon examining the papers I found that it referred to my unofficial letter mentioned in my last and not to our Interview, and moreover that it was dated the 27th. of September (perhaps a mistake for the 29th., or possibly my mistake of his figures) which was antecedent to the Interview. I took for granted, however, that the Marquis had understood me to wish that this mode should be adopted; and, as it was of no Importance, I did not put him, as at first I thought of doing, to the trouble of changing it.—I therefore founded upon it the three Notes (bearing Date, two of them, the 30th. of September, and the other 1st. of October) of which copies are enclosed.

On the 2d. Instant I received the Marquis's answer to my note of the 30th. of September which desired an audience of the King, and I took leave accordingly on Friday the 4th. Instant, one of the Days referred by the Marquis's Note to my Choice, as you will perceive by the Copy of it herewith transmitted. The King was polite and kind and conversed for some time with me on this occasion; but nothing was said by him which had any relation to the objects of my Mission.

Having received my Passports, my intention is to commence my Journey for S. Petersburg in a very few days. Mr. King left me for Russia about a fortnight ago, as my letters of the 18th. of September informed you he would and the Gentlemen attached to my Legation have gone before me to Rome where I hope to arrive on Thursday or Friday next.

I beg your attention, now, to a few words upon the Course which I have pursued as Envoy Extraordinary to Naples, and upon the actual position & prospects of the Claim which produced it.

My Stay here has perhaps been a little longer that was anticipated when I sailed from America; but upon a careful examination of my Instructions

appeared to me that I was directed by them to make the attempt to obtain an acknowledgement of our Claim upon this government as full & complete without sacrificing to it the Interests of my Mission to Russia.—I have done this. As the Claim was of great Magnitude in a pecuniary sense, involved important principles, and turned upon facts into which those with whom I had to deal had a Right to enquire, I could scarcely hope to bring it to an Issue of any kind within less than the two months which have elapsed since my first Reception.—With regard to my Mission to Russia I have yet made no Sacrifice. Independently of the explanations which I have had from Time to Time with Count Mocenigo [53] (the Russian minister here) with regard to my own anxiety (conforming with the orders of my Government) to be in S. Petersburg without delay, those who have Experiences of the Road assure me that, if I had started sooner I would have been obliged to wait upon the Route for the setting in of the Frost, and that I should therefore have gained nothing.—

On the other hand, certainly, I could have no apology for protracting my Stay in Naples beyond the Time to which I have limited it.—My instructions, which are precisely what they ought to be, would not justify it.—By remaining here a few weeks more I should postpone for several months perhaps my arrival in S. Petersburg by losing the best Season for quitting Italy.—

Of the manner in which my negotiation has been conducted I have little to say. Avoiding Extremes of every kind I have sought to write & speak with politeness, but at the same time explicitly & firmly. My object has been to let the King & his Ministers understand that the Claim *must* be settled, and to place it upon such ground as to convince them that we are in earnest in considering them as our Debtors.—Without being studiously consiliatory [sic] I have forborne all Menace. They have indeed treated me & my errand with so much Respect that it would have been difficult for me, even if it had been wise and honorable, to endeavor to force the Claim upon them by arrogance and Harshness.—

I might indeed have contrived to display a more active & zealous Importunity than my Letters will be found to describe; but it could only have been that teasing Importunity which, wanting Dignity and unauthorized by usage, has nothing to recommend its Introduction into transactions like this. No proper opportunity has, I think, been missed to urge this government to a favorable Decision.

As to the footing upon which the Claim now stands and the Value of its future prospects, it is obvious that much has been gained.—It has been presented (whether well or ill I dare not judge). It has been received in a becoming manner and entertained for Deliberation and Enquiry. The Way to adjustment [sic] has been prepared & smoothed. The great Principle on which the demand was rested by the Government of the United States is impliedly conceded, and at any rate has been greatly strengthened, by the forbearance of this Government, not only *in Linine*

[53] Giorgio Mocenigo, Count (1762-1839). Born in Zante. From 1790 to 1827 he was a Russian diplomat.

but even to the last moment of my mission, to deny it, with opportunity and every inducement to do so constantly presented to it.—It was to have been expected, and *was* expected, that the Court of Naples would resist at the Threshold a demand which, directly as well as implicitly asserted its responsibility for the violences and frauds of Murat.—It was its true Policy to repel such a demand at once (without reference to Details) if it meant to contest at all the responsibility, upon which the Claimant altogether depended, and which formed in Truth the only dubious part of their Case. It was prepared to take that Course (as I was *well assured*) upon my first arrival. Yet it has not ventured to take it.—On the contray, it has avowedly busied itself, since the presentation of my Note of the 24th of August, in Efforts (which cannot be successful) to lay a foundation of *fact* for Distinctions that may give it a chance of escaping from our principle, which finally it declines to question.—

The Reasons suggested by this Government for a short postponement of its Decision are such as I suppose I could not have quarrelled with, without putting myself in the wrong.—They are perfectly respectful to the United States and of real weight in themselves.—Their Effort is to leave negotiation open, to give Encouragement to resume it, and, at the same time that they impart new solidity to our Claim to render as acquiescence on our part in a brief ajournment [sic] of it, not only consistent with our Honour, but a Duty. In the meantime the two Governments are not brought to a disagreeable Issue as (if the Claim had been rejected without ceremony, or even with all the ostentation of civility) they might have been.

There is another light in which the matter may be considered. This government is the most corrupt in the world. An agent employed by the American claimants would now with reference to that consideration, have ground to stand upon. The claim has many a lodgement [sic] and has become respectable, and manageable and is in a state to receive that sort of aid.[54]

With all this to be sure the Government of the United States or its Minister has and can have nothing to do; but the claimants may be inclined to lay some stress upon it, and they are at liberty to manage their own affairs as they may; taking care only not to connect their Government.—

In not consenting to receive the answer of this Government after my Departure from Naples I was a good deal influenced by the apprehension that they might possibly give me such an Answer when absent as they would not give me if present.—I desired, moreover, to insure to my Government a just control over the subject, and to the Claimants a clear stage for their own private Exertions. I thought that a more convenient resting point could scarcely be had, and that it would be better that I should afford time to advise upon the Case to those who had more Right than I had to dispose of it in future than that adhering to my Mission after I had separated myself from those to whom I was accredited, I should

[54] In the original the entire paragraph beginning with "There is another light . . ." is also given in code which must have been so transmitted by Mr. Pinkney.

risk the loss of everything by the Exercise of a very doubtful Authority under all sorts of Disadvantages.—

I have not Time to add to this Letter some miscellaneous Remarks & Information which occur to me, and a part of which would require to be in Cypher. From Florence perhaps I shall be able to write again by such an opportunity as may enable me to dispense with the Caution that it is necessary to observe.—

I ought to add however, that upon the Commercial Subject I did not renew my conversation with the Marquis di Circello, because it was evidently not worth while—of that more hereafter.

I have the Honour to be with sincere Respect and consideration your faithful & obedient servant

Wm. Pinkney

Pinkney to James Monroe

Naples. 9th. Octr. 1816.

Sir:

I believe I have omitted to mention that my letter to Commodore Chauncey (of which I enclosed you a copy in my Dispatch of the 24th. of last month) was sent to Messina, and that (the Squadron having sailed before it arrived there) it has come back to me.—In lieu of it I have enclosed to the Commodore a copy of the Marquis di Circello's communication to me of the 4th Instant, and of my answer of the 6th. I did not think it necessary, and indeed have not had time, to send him copies of the Documents transmitted in the Marquis's communication.—

Everything being now prepared for my Departure, I intend to begin my Journey tomorrow morning.[55]—In passing through Rome, Florence, Vienna, & Berlin it will probably be decorous in me to seek to be presented to the Pope, the Grand Duke, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia.[56] I shall carry hence the most advantageous Letters of Introduction to all these places.

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[55] When it became certain that Mr. Pinkney had failed to obtain the indemnity, the English who had evinced much apprehension felt greatly relieved. *Niles, Weekly Register* (XII, 138) declared as follows: "It is not true, and we are most happy it is not true that the Island of Lampedosa has been ceded to the Americans towards whom the government has behaved with great spirit. The former have in fact gained nothing from their mission to Naples. The Americans are certainly a rising people, but it is rather premature, we think, for them to begin the reaction of colonizing Europe." A Neapolitan newspaper, obviously writing under government dictation, was quoted as follows in *Register* (II, 307): "Mr. Pinkney has left. There is every reason to believe that all differences between the United States and our country are terminated. Our honor has received no stain, and it could receive none under a prince who is fully conscious of the dignity of his crown and the rank which his dynasty holds in Europe. Austria has shown upon the occasion that she was ready to support our just pretentions. (Perrotta, *op. cit.*, 37-38).

[56] The Pope was Pius VII, Barnaba Luigi Count Chiaramonti (1742-1823). He had been elected Pope in 1800; went into exile during the Napoleonic invasions

The Passports which I have found it is Rule to take from here are those of the Marquis di Circello, the Minister of Russia & the Minister of Austria.—They all describe me as the Minister of the United States at the Court of S^t. Petersburg.—The little misunderstanding about Kosloff's affair [57] does not appear to be known here, even to the Russian minister.

I have spoken in some of my letters to you of the Gentlemen *attached to my Legation*.—To prevent any misapprehension on that subject I ought perhaps to state that I have attached my son Charles [58] and three other Americans (who accompanied me in the Washington) to my Legation and have permitted them to wear the diplomatic uniform as private secretaries; but neither the Government nor myself has anything to do with their Expences, except so far as *Charles* is a part of my own Family.—These Gentlemen have added much to the Appearance and Respectability of my Mission, and I have had every Reason to be perfectly satisfied with them.

I have the Honour to be

With the highest Respect and consideration

Your faithful and Obedient Servant

WM. PINKNEY

PINKNEY TO JAMES MONROE

Modena. Nov. 3 1816.

Sir:

I left Naples on the 10^th. of last month, and have since got on as fast as I could to this place.—In the morning I shall resume my Journey to St. Petersburg by the way of Vienna.

At Rome I became acquainted with the Cardinal Gonsalvi [59] [sic] (The

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of Italy; and returned to Rome in May, 1814. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was Ferdinand III of Lorraine (1769-1824). Ferdinand III had come to the throne of Tuscany in 1790, but in 1801 he was dethroned by Napoleon I. He was restored as Grand Duke in 1814. The Emperor of Austria was Francis I (whose reign extended from 1806 to 1835) and the King of Prussia was Frederick William III, who ruled 1797-1840.

[57] Kosloff, the Russian Consul General in Philadelphia, had been arrested and tried by a civil court on a charge of rape. The Russian Emperor took the incident as a personal insult, refusing to discuss the incident with John Levitt Harris, the United States Consul at St. Petersburg. This incident made Mr. Pinkney anxious to leave for Russia at once, since it became known that Mr. Pinkney was acceptable to the Emperor and therefore in a position to discuss the matter with him amicably.

[58] Charles Pinkney superseded William R. King, of Alabama, as secretary of the Legation in Russia on Nov. 30, 1818. He acted as chargé d'affaires *ad interim* from Feb. 14, to Sept. 22, 1818, and from July 5, to Nov. 9, 1820. *Register of the Department of State*, corrected to Mar. 1, 1874. (Washington: Gov't. Printing Office, 1874).

[59] Consalvi, Ercole (1757-1824), Cardinal Secretary of State (1800-23). Shrewd and energetic. In 1801 he concluded a Concordat with France. In 1816 he caused the approval and publication of "motu proprio organico" signalizing the triumph of ideas of tolerance. He was dismissed by Leo XII.

Secretary of State and a very able man) who showed me all sorts of Kindness, and through him I had a long and very satisfactory private audience of the Pope at the Castello Gondolfo, in the neighbourhood of Albano, a few miles from Rome.

The Pope is an extremely interesting man from every view, and loses nothing by being approached.—His manner, which is very engaging, has the recommendation of announcing the goodness of his Heart.—As he talked to me in Italian (which I understand imperfectly when it is spoken, although I read it pretty well) and I talked to him altogether in French (which he understands about as well as I do Italian) I derived less Reassurance from his conversation than in itself it was calculated to give.—It gave me great Pleasure nevertheless.—

No Person was permitted to be present at this Audience.—The "Monsignor" who conducted me into the Pope's Closet retired immediately, closing the Door, and passing through the anteroom (the door of which also he shut) into a large Hall where the Pope's attendants were in waiting and the Gentlemen who accompanied me remarked on my way to the Closet I was desired to leave my hat upon a Chair in the anteroom. As soon as I was introduced the Pope offered me his hand, which according to established usage I kissed.—Our conversation turned principally upon the political & moral State of the World, upon the climate &c of Italy, and upon Rome antient and modern.—He spoke pleasingly and well upon all these Subjects, mixing up now and then a little French, for my benefit, with Italian.—When talking of our Country he did not omit to make me perceive that he was acquainted with its worth and that he held it in the highest respect.—We were seated during the whole of our Conversation.—When I was about to retire he invited me to stay to Dinner, and upon my excusing myself he took me by the hand (after having first offered me his to kiss as upon my Entrance) and conducted me out of the Closet to the Door of the Antechamber which he opened.—The gentlemen who accompanied me were then introduced to him, in the antechamber (as is customary) after which we left him. The Monsignors (I think they are so called) of his Court were extremely civil, and urged me very strongly to dine at the Castello: but as I knew that the Pope would not be at the table (he always dines alone) I declined the Invitation, and returned to Rome.

I left Rome as soon as was in my power (having however first taken a rapid view, under the auspices of the Cardinal Secretary of State, of everything in it which is worth seeing) and arrived at Florence on the 25th. of last month.—One of my carriages had suffered in our Journey from Rome, and was found to require Alteration as well as Repair. This detained me at Florence until the 31st. when I set out for Bologna where I stayed only a single night.—

I have a letter from Mr. King (dated at Vienna October 16th.) in which he tells me that the Passport of the Russian Government and a letter from Mr. Harris, containing nothing new, wait for me at Vienna.—Mr. King went on to St. Petersburg.—It appears from the newspapers that an

American Corvette passed the 23d. of September with a messenger for St. Petersburg.—I take for granted that this is connected with Kosloff's affair, and of course that there is an End of all Difficulty on that subject.—I shall consequently pass on to my destination as rapidly as Roads, weather &c. permit. A few weeks will I trust find me there.—

I have the Honour to be

with the highest Consideration & Respect

Your most obedient Humble Servant

Wm. Pinkney

P. S. I hope you will receive in due season my last letters from Naples intrusted to the care of our Consul there.—It is impossible to make copies of them on the Road.

W. P.

THE CHURCH TOOK A CHANCE

By John S. Ezell

She seems to give to all who ask
Without imposing labour's task
The idle as the busy bask
Alike i' the sunshine of her mask.[1]

The gracious lady in this bit of doggerel was none other than Dame Fortune, who according to the bard, presided over the lottery wheels, awaiting only an opportunity to bestow boundless wealth on all who would step up and receive it. Very few of our ancestors showed any hesitancy in answering this siren's call; certainly Maryland was not adverse to furnishing patrons and promoters.

Throughout the colonies and in most of Europe during the eighteenth century, both church and state considered the raffle an acceptable mode of disposing of property and raising funds for worthy causes.[2] In America, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington, to name only two, saw nothing amiss in lending the prestige of their names as sponsors, and in return were all the more esteemed as public-spirited citizens. Anyone believing that he could get popular support, or customers, was free to initiate a drawing on his own terms. Many churches, doubtless feeling that their claims for attention were as worthy as any, took advantage of the times and so realized substantial profits. Their use of the lottery makes an interesting, if somewhat unusual, bit of religious history.

The factors conducive to the instigation of such schemes and the justification for such actions are clearly indicated in the advertisement inserted in the *Maryland Gazette*, July 7, 1761, by one of the Baltimore congregations.

Religion, the crowning Excellence of intelligent Nature, claims the Approbation and close Attention of every respectable Being who expects

[1] St. Denis Le Cadet, *The Lottery, A Poem* (Baltimore, 1815), 15.

[2] For a general survey of early American lotteries, see J. S. Ezell, "The Lottery in Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, V (April, 1948), 185 ff.

future Bliss. We are bound from Principles of Gratitude and Interest to promote the Honour and Worship of the Supreme Mind, as necessary to our own Prosperity, the God [sic] of Society, and the future Happiness of Man. Sustained by these interesting Motives, we of the Presbyterian Persuasion in this Town desire not from Party Views, but from real Principle, to purchase a Lot of Ground to erect a decent Church for Divine Service, in which we may worship GOD according to our Consciences. Upon Enquiry we find ourselves as yet insufficient to raise such a sum as is necessary to accomplish such an important design, beg leave therefore to sollicit the Generosity of our Fellow Christians to assist and encourage us in compleating a small lottery at a time when the Benevolence of our Countrymen is so well tried in this Way. We hope our Claim to the public Attention is equal to any that has sollicited their Notice and humbly expect that we shall meet with general Encouragement.[3]

By this appeal they hoped to raise 300 pieces of eight. On July 15, 1762, however the directors confessed their failure and blamed the indifference of the populace on too many low prizes. Consequently, they issued a new scheme of 19,010 chances at four dollars each, 15,566 being awards.[4] This was apparently not the solution either, for in 1763 one of the managers requested that all the tickets signed by him be returned for a refund.[5] The members forgot this set-back, however, and again attempted in June, 1771, to use a lottery to build a parsonage and enlarge their meetinghouse since it was " thought the most eligible method to raise money for that purpose and a scheme . . . laid before the congregation being approved of." In spite of troubled times these billets found a ready market and the drawing was held October 15. Unfortunately it was not without incident for some of the purchasers failed to exercise the Christian virtues and a few holding blanks refused to settle their accounts.[6]

The outbreak of the Revolution saw a diminution of such ventures, but a few churches persisted in their use. In 1780, for example, St. Paul's Parish (Episcopal) offered 12,000 tickets at

[3] Quoted by William Reynolds, *A Brief History of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1913), 4-5.

[4] J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), 544 fn.

[5] Reynolds, *op. cit.*, 5. The Presbyterians at this time were utilizing a log cabin meetinghouse on Fayette street. In 1765 they purchased a lot at the northwest corner of Fayette and North Streets (Guilford Avenue) and erected a brick structure. On the site was later built the famous " Two-Steeple Church," predecessor of the present First Church.

[6] *Ibid.*, 11-13.

forty dollars each, boasting of 3,837 awards totaling $320,000. The amounts involved clearly indicate the prevailing inflation and perhaps offer another explanation for the temporary decline in the lottery's use. Small notice was paid to the 8,163 blanks, " there being but little more than two blanks to a prize." Their advertisements opened with the reminder that " He who giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord," and included the pious hope that " the good purposes expected from the sacred institution which carries to all the Divine blessing, independent of the advantageous terms offered to the adventurer, will be a sufficient inducement for a speedy sale of the tickets." [7]

With the restoration of peace came renewed activity in this field. Religious groups were once more in active competition with their secular brethren, and by 1789 the number of such undertakings reached a new high. A modest project to raise $637 for a set of bells for the German Reformed Church on Howard's Hill issued the following scheme, which though small was quite typical.[8]

1,200 tickets at $2 equals		$2,400
1 Prize of	$150	150
1	75	75
1	50	50
2	30	60
2	25	50
3	20	60
4	15	60
10	10	100
15	5	75
361	3	1083
400 Prizes		$1763 in Prizes
800 Blanks		
1200		

" The Benefit that will result to the Town (not only for their Congregational Meetings, but also in case of Fire, etc.) from a Set of Bells on this elevated Situation, must be obvious to every one.

[7] *Maryland Journel*, April 29, 1780.

[8] *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, January 6, 1789. According to J. T. Scharf's *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1879), p. 41, this church was on the west side of Charles St., north of Saratoga St.

. . . " The date and place of the contest were announced as February 2, 1789, at Mr. William Evans' Tavern.[9]

A more ambitious undertaking was publicized on April 17 by the High German Reformed Presbyterian Church of Jones Falls " near Philpot's Bridge." It proposed to gain $3,686 by a series of three drawings, or classes, each consisting of 3,000 tickets. Single billets in the first sold for one dollar and those in each succeeding class cost an additional dollar.[10] The next month the German Lutheran Congregation of Baltimore launched a $1,750 campaign for a parsonage.[11] In July the " Presbyterian Society of Baltimore-Town " announced that they depended " for a rapid Sale of Tickets . . . on the liberal Spirit which hath hitherto so eminently distinguished the different religious Denominations, in assisting each other on similar Occasions " to enable them to secure $2,780.[12] The remainder of the year saw schemes for $2,000 for an Episcopal rectory in Baltimore and £300 for a Roman Catholic edifice in Harford County.[13]

The relative success of all of these is questionable, for the managers of the second class of the High German Reformed and of the Presbyterian projects postponed their drawings because of competition and the " extraordinary Sickness prevailing." The former condition was emphasized by a newspaper contributor, signing himself " A Spectator," who complained that in the past twelve months a total of $26,084.66 had been sought by different lotteries. When one remembers that to raise that amount required the sale of appropriately $100,000 in tickets, his conclusion that all could not flourish " unless we possessed a greater surplus of circulating cash " seems logical. He estimated they had taken nearly £10,000 from Baltimore's pockets alone.[14]

As one would expect, these undertakings were generally confined to the more populated areas, but there is evidence that the rural sections also employed them. Neither history nor the columns of the newspapers recorded many but probably they were conceived on a small scale to meet the demands of their limited clientage; for example, the one in 1791 for the parish of North Sassafras

[9] *Ibid.*, January 20, 1789.
[10] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1789.
[11] *Ibid.*, May 22, 1789.
[12] *Ibid.*, July 21, 1789; Reynolds, *op. cit.*, 13. This congregation later became the First Presbyterian Church.
[13] *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, December 8, 18, 1789.
[14] *Ibid.*, November 27, December 8, 1789.

Church in Cecil County sought to raise only a few hundred dollars.[15]

The days of unrestricted lottery activity were drawing rapidly to a close, when, in 1792, the Lutherans of Baltimore sought $12,118 to purchase land adjoining their burying ground.[16] Most of the legislatures of the other states had found it expedient much earlier to intervene and regulate the conduct of such schemes, but Mary-

Fortune Calls—Come Quickly!

The Fell's-Point Baptiſt Church Lottery

WILL poſitively commence drawing on *Monday next*, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, at Mr. Peter Wyant's. The few tickets on hand, it is hoped, will be ſold by that time.—Tickets for ſale by the following perſons: Hiram Cochran, at the lumber yard Charles-ſtreet; William Carman, at the lumber yard O'Donnell's wharf; and Wright and Price, lumber yard, Frederick ſtreet dock; Joſ. Hutkins, No. 62, South-ſtreet; Levering and Nems, No. 28, Cheapſide; Rowles and Mickelſon, No 56, Cumberland-row; M. and J. Conrad and Co. No. 140, Market-ſtreet; Aquila Miles, corner of Bridge and High-ſtreets, Old town; Samuel Leath, No. 42, Howard-ſtreet; and David Burk, No. 2, Pitſpot-ſtreet, Fell's-Point. June 8. 6t

From the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, June 9, 1803. This shows a drawing in progress. The wheel at left is labeled "Numbers," that at right "Prizes and Blanks."

land apparently was reluctant to follow their lead. Then action became imperative. As had happened elsewhere, unscrupulous promoters seized this device and perverted it to serve themselves instead of their customers. There were drawings in which inferior prizes were awarded; those where, by manipulation, the most desirable rewards remained undrawn; and occasions when the sponsor, having sold the tickets, absconded without finishing the contest. In small communities protection from fraud was afforded by the personal reputation of the promoter; with growing popu-

[15] George Johnston, *History of Cecil County, Maryland* (Elkton, 1881), 288.

[16] Scharf, *History*, p. 568 fn. They offered 4,000 tickets at two dollars each and dangled $5,882 as prizes.

lations this assumption was no longer valid. In the fall of 1792 the Assembly recognized the danger and reserved the right to approve all sponsors, outlawing all future undertakings which did not secure its sanction.[17]

This was not the result of awakened moral scruples against a practice which today is considered gambling, but merely a business-like regulation to protect the unwary public. Then, too, merchants had found it hard to compete with the lottery's attractions and demanded that the number of raffles be curtailed. The new requirement answered this complaint and reduced the total in operation, but such schemes were still destined to play a major part in the state's social and fiscal life. During the next sixty-seven years their importance was amply illustrated by the authorization of some seventy-five different lotteries, exclusive of the annual ones held for the educational fund.

Benevolent organizations, churches and schools soon enjoyed a favored position in the granting of franchises. For the first ten years following the passage of this law, licenses were scarce; but at least three religious groups received favorable answers to their petitions. The first, the Vestry of Christ Church Parish of Calvert County, was empowered on December 30, 1796, to seek $1,000 to finish their building.[18] Three years later the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish, lying in Queen Anne's and Talbot counties, obtained permission to raise £3,000 to pay their debts.[19] In 1802 "Zion's Church," Baltimore, legally attempted to gain $2,499.[20]

But local projects were not the only source of opportunity for speculators to test their fortunes. Groups outside of the state constantly sought a market in Maryland. In 1799 Pennsylvania had authorized the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Augustine in Philadelphia to raise $10,000. On April 30, Father T. M. Carr wrote Bishop John Carroll:

> The Lottery Bill has passed for the new church. I fear to proceed with it. I foresee the great attention and laborious exertions it requires; nor can I hope for much assistance from any of the managers. I wd be thankful to Your Lordship for informing me what prospects of disposing tickets I may look to in Baltimore. For unless we can vend a considerable portion

[17] William Kilty, compiler, *The Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1799-1800), II, 1792, Chapter 58.
[18] Kilty, *op. cit.*, II, 1796, Chapter 14.
[19] *Ibid.*, II, 1798, Chapter 69.
[20] *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, February 15, 1802.

of them in the principal cities of the Union, it were folly to embark on the business.[21]

The following years were more fruitful for Maryland promoters and 1803, in particular, saw lotteries sanctioned in abundance. Of the fourteen allowed for various congregations throughout the state, the first in operation was St. John's of Baltimore, which offered $40,000 in prizes, subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent, to raise $6,000.[22] The project did not, however, enjoy smooth sailing as for several months the mayor (James Calhoun) refused to allow the managers to sell tickets within the city limits.[23] Even the removal of this obstacle left them facing sharp competition from other schemes. They began drawing on September 20, but stopped after the first hundred billets, explaining that of the 8,000 offered at five dollars each, 985 were unsold and the contest would not proceed until this number was reduced by half.[24]

In March lotteries were instigated for $6,000 to finish an Episcopal church at Havre de Grace, Harford County, and for a Baptist meetinghouse on Fell's Point.[25] The latter boasted $13,000 in prizes, minus the fifteen per cent, and an unusual method of selling the billets. Their nominal cost was five dollars, three to be paid at the time of purchase, the other two only if the number won an award.

One of the largest ventures up until this time was for the Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore. It offered the munificent sum of $210,000 in prizes, subject to the customary deduction, and the list of distinguished managers was headed by the Right Reverend John

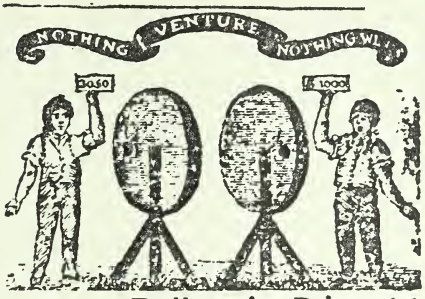
[21] American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, *Records*, XLIII, (Sept. 1932), 237. This is even more interesting in view of Maryland's having forbidden the sale of "foreign" tickets in 1792. This prohibition obviously was not strictly enforced as is seen in the advertisements in Baltimore newspapers. See, for example, that of Harvard College in the *Baltimore Daily Intelligencer*, October 14, 1794, and of the German Roman Catholic Holy Trinity Church of Philadelphia in the *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1803.

[22] *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, January 21, 1803. Apparently a German congregation, denomination not given.

[23] *Ibid.*, March 17, 1803.

[24] *Ibid.*, September 21, 1803.

[25] *Ibid.*, March 19, 21, 1803. Under the leadership of Elder John Healey, three families of "New Connexion" Baptists had come to Baltimore from England in 1795. They settled on Fell's Point and, by 1797, had built a church on the corner of Bank and Eden Street. Known as the Second Baptist Church, this edifice reputedly contained the first Sunday School in Maryland. In 1811 a new structure, probably constructed with the returns from the lottery mentioned here, was erected on Canton Avenue.



210,000 Dollars in Prizes ! !

And only 21,000 *Tickets ! !*

In the Catholic Cathedral Church Lottery.

LOTTERY TICKETS and SHARES, ſigned by the managers, now for ſale by the following perſons:

Sower & Cole, No. 190, Market-ſtreet
Samuel Vincent, No. 44, north Gay-ſtreet
George Dobbin, at the Telegraphe office
Samuel Cole, No. 28, Pitt-ſtreet, Old-town, &
John Rice, No. 182, Baltimore-ſtreet.

Alſo,

Mr. John Schultz, *German-ſtreet*
Mr. Peter Little, *Baltimore-ſtreet*
Mr. Joſeph Eſcaiville, *Bryden's coffee houſe*
Mr. James Ninde, *Thomas-ſtreet, Fell's-Point*, &
Mr. Abraham Lerſh, jun. *Riſter's-town.*

The following explanatory Tables of the mode of adventuring in ſhares in the preſent lottery, are ſubmitted to purchaſers:

Half Tickets, at 5½ Dollars, entitled to

10,000 dollars, if a prize of		20,000 dolls.
5,000	- -	10,000
2,500	- -	5,000
500	- -	1,000
250	- -	500
100	- -	200
50	- -	100
25	- -	50
12 50	- -	25
10	- -	20
7 50	- -	15

Quarter Tickets, at 3 Dollars, entitled to

5000 dollars, if a prize of		20,000 dolls.
2500	- -	10,000
1250	- -	5000
250	- -	1000
125	- -	500
50	- -	200
25	- -	100
12 50	- -	50
6 25	- -	25
5	- -	20
3 75	- -	15

And a proportional ſhare of ſuch premium as may be drawn againſt any number, agreeably to

From the Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser, March 30, 1804. A manager holds ticket No. 3050 and another manager the corresponding prize of $1,000.

Carroll.[26] In October its sponsors announced that the tickets were going very rapidly, " the demand for them from various parts of the *United States*, as well as from *foreign countries* being of late very considerable . . . ," but two years later its advertisements were still being carried by the newspapers.[27] Compared to this one the remaining undertakings of the year were small. Most were for groups outside Baltimore, although funds were sought for a non-denominational edifice in that city. Among the others were the Rock Presbyterians in Cecil County, those at Charleston and Ephesus; a joint Lutheran and Presbyterian congregation at Emmitsburg; the German Lutherans at Woodsbury (Woodsboro) in Frederick County; the Roman Catholics at Frederick; the Baptists at McAllister's Town in Baltimore County; and the Episcopalians of Shrewsbury church in Kent and All Hallows in Anne Arundel counties.[28]

As many of the religious and secular lottery schemes authorized in 1803 were still seeking markets the following year, the legislature was reluctant to authorize more. The only sect approved for a venture was the Second Presbyterian of Baltimore, which hoped for $12,500 from the scale of eleven thousand tickets at five dollars each with 3,710 prizes as inducements.[29] 1806 was the next banner year, when, among others, the Roman Catholic Church of St. John at Frederick sought a total of $24,000 to complete its building, and the Reformed Church of that town raised funds to build a steeple.[30] In Baltimore the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish attempted to gain $15,000 and the German Evangelical Reformed group, (Otterbein's Church) $12,000 to construct a parsonage, a school house, and to finish their auditorium.[31]

After a series of such bountiful years it is not surprising that the number of new franchises issued should again be small. This may have been because the demand was temporarily satisfied or

[26] *Ibid.*, July 1, 1803. The managers, besides the Bishop, included the Reverend Francis Beeston, David Williamson, Robert Walsh, Charles Ghequiere, Patrick Bennet, Arnold Livers, Luke Tiernan, and Francis I. Mitchell.

[27] *Ibid.*, October 14, 1803.

[28] E. S. Riley, *A History of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1635-1904* (Baltimore, 1905), 321; A. R. Wentz, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick, Maryland, 1738-1938* (Harrisburg, 1938), 200; Johnston, *op. cit.*, 281, 287.

[29] *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, May 8, 1804.

[30] *Ibid.*, January 2, 1806; Wentz, *op. cit.*, 200-201.

[31] *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, January 4, April 8, 1806; Wentz, *op. cit.*, 200-201.

the abundance of contests in operation gave little hope for success to new lotteries. Perhaps, too, the Assembly decided to protect those already in progress by refusing to create new rivals. Whatever the reason, the only religious scheme granted in 1807 was for Trinity Church in Baltimore. To get $18,000 it marketed 18,000 chances at $5 each, and dangled a first prize of $5,000.[32] The next four years saw only two licenses: to the Lutherans of Frederick (1808), who raised $1,600 to pay for an addition to their parsonage; and to the Reformed Church of Emmitsburg (1810) for funds for a new building. In 1811 the Roman Catholic Cathedral was allowed to increase its original amount.[33] The session of 1812 was more generous, and congregations at " Coxe's-Town " in Baltimore County, Cumberland in Allegany, and " Middle-Town " in Frederick competed with their lay brothers in attempts to gain $1,800, $6,000, and $3,000, respectively.[34] A scheme approved in 1813 and drawn in 1814 financed a new house of worship for the Episcopalians in Frederick.[35]

The next meeting issued only three licenses, none denominational; but in the fall of 1815, $5,000 was authorized to buy a lot and raise an undesignated meetinghouse, $5,000 for St. Lucus Reformed Church, $6,000 for St. Mark's [Episcopal] Parish, and $1,500 to repair the Presbyterian and Lutheran edifice of Emmitsburg, all in Frederick County.[36] Perhaps to avoid accusations of favoritism a $10,000 scheme was granted for construction of an Episcopal church at the " junction of the public roads near the mouth of Charles Walker's lane " in Baltimore County.[37]

At the same sitting of the legislature, 1816-1817, which set goals of $100,000 for the University of Maryland, $30,000 for Washington College, and $50,000 annually over a five year period for the state school fund, eleven other lotteries received approval, five to benefit religious sects. These included $10,000 to repair

[32] *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, August 25, 1807. Presumably this was Trinity Episcopal.

[33] Wentz, *op. cit.*, 200-201.

[34] State of Maryland, *Laws Made and Passed By the General Assembly in the Session of 1812-1813* (Annapolis, 1813), 67, 93, 141. The only case in which the denomination is specified in the enacting statute is the Lutherans of " Middle-Town."

[35] Wentz, *op. cit.*, 200. This structure is still standing and is used as the parish house of All Saints Church.

[36] State of Maryland, *op. cit., 1815-1816,* 7, 25, 41-42, 168.

[37] *Ibid.*, 192-193. This refers to St. John's in the Valley, built in 1816 on two acres donated by Charles Walker.

buildings and purchase a glebe of 200 acres for the Vestry of King and Queen Parish in St. Mary's County; $30,000 to buy a site and erect a church and parsonage for the English Presbyterians of "Frederick-Town"; $1,200 to finish a school house and buy a set of bells for the meetinghouse at Boonsborough [Boonsboro] in Washington County; $5,000 for "Impartial Academy" and the "Free Church" of "Taney-Town" in Frederick County (with the unusual provision that the worship service must be in English); and $20,000 for the Parish of Port Tobacco in Charles County.[38]

The passage of this group marked the last lottery franchises for religious purposes and the high water mark for other schemes. The reasons are not hard to discover. So many had been authorized that all had found difficulty in marketing their tickets, and a number had struggled for years with little success. Those for country churches, which had but few interested backers, were especially hard pressed. They could not contend in rich prizes or with the experienced management of such mammoth undertakings as, for example, those for the University of Maryland, the deepening Jones' Falls ($100,000), Washington College (a total of $80,000), and the project for the Washington Monument in Baltimore, which in one class alone offered prizes of $50,000, $30,000, $20,000, two of $10,000, and three of $5,000. Even the smaller awards were greater than the grand reward of small competitors. Projects of this magnitude obviously ran hundreds of classes and were often a score or more years in process of completion.

The changing attitude of the government was an even more vital factor in the disappearance of church sponsored lotteries. The legislature had been casting envious eyes on this source of wealth and no longer displayed a liberal hand with grants. More and more the state depended on them as a means of revenue and as early as 1816 appointed commissioners to conduct a series of annual drawings for the school system. This predilection was continued until the state finally assumed proprietorship of all such projects within its limits and apportioned the returns, over and above a fixed amount for education, among the various franchise holders. On February 16, 1819, a tax of five per cent was placed on the gross of prizes offered in other schemes but most of the churches still in the business were later able to get special acts

[38] *Ibid., 1816-1817*, 17-18, 27, 63, 64, 87-88.

exempting them from the payments or reducing the amount, usually to one per cent.[39]

By this time many of the congregations were in a better financial condition and could meet their needs unassisted. However, some still hoped to share in the easy money. In 1822 the Lutherans of Frederick felt they needed a larger building and unsuccessfully petitioned during several sessions for permission to raise$ 30,000.[40] Proof that lotteries were still morally acceptable in Maryland is evidenced by the resolutions passed by this same group in 1825.

> Whereas the discipline of our church enjoins the members of the Council to lead an exemplary life; and as we consider the encouraging and attendance of horse-racing, cock-fighting, unlawful gaming and public balls to be inconsistent with such conduct:
>
> Therefore Resolved, That it is the decided opinion of this Council that any member of the Council attending such places renders himself liable to expulsion.

Their next action was the adoption of a motion proposed by the pastor:

> Resolved, That we highly appreciate the zealous and repeated exertions of Samuel Barnes, Esq., for his endeavors to promote the pecuniary interest of this congregation by introducing, maturing and advocating in the house of delegates at their recent session the bill introduced to grant a lottery for its benefit.[41]

These resolutions, approved at the same meeting, reveal the inconsistencies to which a church could be led in its definition of morality, especially when legal sanctions cloaked the method of raising much needed money.

Just as the earlier governments had found it necessary to intervene in the conduct of unregulated lotteries they now found the licensed schemes also had inherent weaknesses which even careful supervision failed to eradicate. By the 1820's it could no longer be denied that addiction to this form of speculation was producing a bad effect on the lower strata of society. Crimes were committed to obtain money for tickets and all too frequently managers took advantage of their privileged positions to enrich themselves. Even at best it was an expensive method of raising money for the most

[39] *Ibid., 1818-1819*, Chapter 179.
[40] Wentz, *op. cit.*, 201.
[41] Quoted in *Ibid.*, 201-202.

worthy cause. Gradually public opinion began shifting against the practice and a concerted effort was made to abolish it. Sparked by the Quakers, Pennsylvania led the way in 1833, and one by one other legislatures joined the movement.

In Maryland also religious groups were among the first to have their consciences awakened and to raise their voices in protest. The Lutheran pastor of Frederick, the Reverend David F. Schaffer, showed himself of short memory or the beneficiary of rapid conversion for as early as 1826 he began striking at lotteries in a paper which he published. His article in 1829 on " Immorality in Maryland," for example, listed these drawings as an evil, and in 1830 he contributed as essay entitled " Lottery Riches have Wings." [42] But these early cries that the Devil's mill was being used to grind the Lord's grain were still too weak to be heard over the clink of silver. Though an amendment to the constitution forbidding such schemes was proposed in 1834, it failed to be ratified.[43]

Year by year the conviction that total abolition was necessary became stronger and the list of states outlawing lotteries grew. No longer could a churchman defend them with impunity. This reversal is exemplified by the First Presbyterians of Baltimore, a group who had previously profited by this device. In June, 1842, an applicant for membership felt constrained to state:

> that he had been led to view the practice of dealing in lottery tickets to be not only ruinous to the temporal interests, but destructive to all spiritual growth and comfort, and that he had been betrayed into it unawares and had since determined to renounce it forever, and would not feel at liberty for any temporal gain to engage in the business again even to the smallest extent.[44]

It was not, however, until the adoption of the Constitution of 1851 that the fight was won in Maryland, when the right of authorization was denied the legislature.[45] Even this did not end lotteries immediately. Some continued operating until 1859, for to have curtailed them before they raised their allotted amounts would have been considered a breach of faith on the part of the state.

[42] *Ibid.*, 202.
[43] Riley, *op. cit.*, 339.
[44] Quoted by Reynolds, *op. cit.*, 6-7.
[45] Riley, *op. cit.*, 358.

One should be tolerant of our early church fathers for what appears to modern eyes to have been a compromise of principles and remember that today's concepts are the outgrowths of passing time. Their actions had the moral approval of their fellowmen, not only in Maryland, but throughout the country. Unquestionably, lotteries made possible the construction of many churches which otherwise would never have been built and freed others from burdensome debts which might well have choked them off in infancy. At least, they were among the first to recognize the fallaciousness of their reasoning. At worst, they and their day chose the wrong answer to the problem—" Do the ends justify the means? "

BROOKLANDWOOD, BALTIMORE COUNTY[1]

By Robert Erskine Lewis

The immediate family of Charles Carroll of Carrollton has probably contributed more to Maryland's heritage of Georgian domestic architecture than any other family in Maryland. It has given us the Carroll House in Annapolis, Doughoregan Manor and Folly Quarter in Howard County, the Carroll or Caton House at Lombard and South Front Streets, Homewood on Charles Street and Brooklandwood at the Valley Road and Falls Road. The Harper house, Oakland, that stood on the site of the Griswold house in Roland Park, unfortunately burned in 1858, but its charming dairy has been moved to the Baltimore Museum of Art as an ornament to its gardens.[2]

Charles Carroll was a Catholic and an aristocrat of ancient Irish and English descent. He was a patriot and a Federalist with no faith in Mr. Jefferson's democracy. He lived and entertained in great style and expected his children to do likewise. That he was also able to provide the money for their several establishments was a blessing not only to them but to us, for their houses have become important items in our architectural tradition.

The most interesting line from Charles Carroll, in its social brilliance, was that of his daughter, Mary, born in 1770. She was the eldest of his three children that survived childhood. That she was an attractive child has been recorded in the letters of the family and of their visitors. Daniel Carroll of Duddington, a distant cousin, was in love with her when he went abroad to complete his education in 1785, taking her brother Charles along. Her father evidently preferred this match to the one she made, for in March, 1787, he wrote to Daniel the sad news that Mary

[1] For assistance in the preparation of this article the author desires to thank Mrs. Matthew J. Looram, Mr. William B. Marye, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, Mrs. William M. Dabney, Mr. Gilman Paul, and Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler.

[2] Account is taken here only of houses built by the Doughoregan Manor Carrolls. Their relatives of the Daniel Carroll line built fine houses at Duddington, Sweet Air and Clynmalira.

had engaged herself to a " young English gentleman of the name of Caton. I do sincerely wish she had placed her affections elsewhere, but I do not think myself at liberty to control her choice, when fixed on a person of unexceptionable character, nor would you, I am sure, desire that I should. My assent to this union is obtained on these two conditions, that the young gentleman should extricate himself from some debts which he has contracted, and shall get into a business sufficient to maintain himself and a family." The letter continues with words of comfort and hopes for Daniel's consolation with a satisfactory wife.[3] This " young English gentleman of the name of Caton " was Richard Caton, son of Joseph Caton of Liverpool. He settled in Baltimore in 1785 and married Mary Carroll in November of 1787. In 1790 he entered a mercantile firm for the manufacture of cotton and became one of the leading citizens of the town.[4]

It is interesting to note that, although one of Charles Carroll's pre-marital demands was that Caton apply himself to business, and although Caton later found himself in financial difficulties, Charles Carroll nevertheless intrusted him with the management of a large part of his affairs. At the time of Charles Carroll's death his account books show that the Catons had been advanced $468,000.[5] The Carroll family were a closely knit group, but the Catons and Charles Carroll of Carrollton seem to have been particularly close. They spent much time with him at his paternal mansion in Annapolis which he willed to Mary Caton at his death. They shared the Baltimore town house on Lombard Street and visited him at Doughoregan frequently. Mrs. Caton was with Mr. Carroll in New York for the meeting of Congress in 1790 where she became a favorite of society. She was admired for her beauty and amiability, being considered one of the ornaments of the Republican Court. Washington, it is said, was very fond of her.[6]

On Mary's marriage, her father gave her an estate not far from

[3] Kate Mason Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (New York: Putnam's, 1898), II, 104. From this book the general historical background for this article was drawn.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[5] Many of the business accounts of Carroll are in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. This figure includes advances to the four daughters.

[6] [Eugene L. Didier] " The American Graces," Harper's Magazine, LXI (Sept., 1880), p. 489-495.

Doughoregan which had an old mansion on it. This estate contained the site of the present Catonsville.[7] In 1788, Charles Carroll bought three tracts of land at the eastern end of the Greenspring Valley which are part of the present Brooklandwood, including the site of the mansion.[8] In 1791 the Falls Road was extended to this property. The tax list of 1798 for Back River and Middle River Upper Hundred lists the property as Richard Caton's. In a letter to Alexander Hamilton in 1800 Charles Carroll refers to Brooklandwood, where he was staying at the time, as "the country residence of my son-in-law, Mr. Caton."[9] However, Carroll claimed that the legal title was his,[10] and not until 1822 did he deed it to trustees for Mary Caton. Another such deed was executed in 1831. It is interesting to note that at the time of his death Charles Carroll still held title to the furnishings, plate, and servants both at Brooklandwood and at the Caton town house.

The Catons had four daughters who grew up at Brooklandwood and at the Carroll residences where life was a continuous round of entertaining and visiting at other estates. Life at Brooklandwood was described in a letter written from Baltimore to England, by Richard Jackson, a nephew of Richard Caton. He speaks of twenty servants, and was very much amused the morning after his arrival to find several "darkies" in his room, putting the water in a tub, stirring up the fire, brushing his clothes and "Kicking up a devil of a row." He says, "We have four waiters at dinner which is always sumptuous; Terrapin, soup, fish, turkey, Galena fowls, omelette, ducks, corned beef, oysters stewed, carrots, turnips, potatoes, cabbage, parsnips, &c. . . . puddings, whips, sweetmeats, and thick cream. After dinner, American apples &c." "Uncle Caton's roof is certainly the roof of hospitality." "Aunt Caton and Mrs. McTavish have a sleigh of their own and drive four horses."[11]

That the Caton sisters were beautiful, charming and "to the

[7] Rowland, *Life*, II, p. 106.
[8] Baltimore County Deeds, Liber W. G. No. CC, f. 372. John Cockey to Charles Carroll.
[9] Rowland, *Life*, II, 238.
[10] Carroll to Robert Goodloe Harper, Dec. 14, 1802, Maryland Historical Society collections.
[11] Quoted in manuscript prepared for the late Mrs. Isaac E. Emerson, author unknown.

manner born " is attested by their brilliant marriages. The eldest, Mary, married first Robert Patterson, brother of Betsy, and after his death, the Marquis of Wellesley who was the older brother of the Duke of Wellington. Betsy Patterson's letters about her sister-in-law are bitter with jealousy and suggest that Mary was on too intimate terms with Wellington on whose doorstep, she says, the Caton sisters camped until he found highly placed husbands for them. However, a little later she wrote to her father:

I write by this packet to announce to you the marriage of Mrs. Robert Patterson. Mrs. Brown received a letter from Betsy Caton the day on which it was to take place. She has made the greatest match that any woman ever made, and I suppose now that people will see that Mrs. Caton was right in starving herself to keep her daughters in Europe. The Marquis of Wellesley is Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He is sixty-five. He married an Italian singer, by whom he had a family of children. She is dead. He has no fortune; on the contrary, he is over head and ears in debt. His salary is thirty thousand pounds per annum as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He will be there eighteen months longer, and if the king does not give him another place, he is entitled, as a *poor* nobleman, to at least a thousand pounds a year. He is the brother of the Duke of Wellington. The Catons, I suppose, will be enchanted at the match, and with reason, too, for it gives them a rank in Europe; and with Mr. Carroll's money to keep it up, they may be considered the most fortunate in the United States of America.

The second daughter, Elizabeth, married Baron Stafford. The third, Louisa Katherine, married first Colonel Sir Felton Bathurst Hervey and after his death Francis Asborne, Duke of Leeds. These three were famous beauties of their time in England and known as the American Graces. The youngest daughter, Emily, married John McTavish who was the British Consul in Baltimore and she alone had children. Emily became her grandfather's favorite and fared well in his will. Richard Caton died in 1845 and his wife in November of 1846.

In March of that year Mr. George Brown, head of the banking house of Alexander Brown & Sons, purchased Brooklandwood from Mrs. Caton and trustees under the deed of gift of her father for his son, Alexander D. Brown, and his wife, Colegate Nisbet whom he had married in 1843.[13] It was during his occu-

[12] Eugene L. Didier, *Life and Letters of Madame Bonaparte* (New York: Scribner, 1879), p. 169-170.

[13] Baltimore County Deeds, Liber A. W. B. No. 364, f. 90 *et seq.*

pancy in the late eighteen sixties and through the seventies that the colorful tournaments described by D. Sterrett Gittings in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September 1941 were held. They were arranged by William Young, and took place on a mile track that was laid out at the foot of the hill. In later years Brooklandwood was the setting for Maryland's best known point to point races. The Maryland Hunt Cup race was first held in 1894 at Brooklandwood and was run there intermittently until 1906.[14] The Grand National was run there almost continuously from its first race in 1898 until 1935.[15]

After the death of Alexander D. Brown in 1892 his son, George Brown, came into possession of the property, and his wife, the former Fannie M. Winchester, made the extensive alterations to the house that brought it to approximately its present appearance. Newton W. Elwell's book *Architecture, Furniture and Interiors of Maryland and Virginia during the Eighteenth Century* [16] published in 1897, shows it very much as it is today. George Brown died in 1902 and his wife moved to Fernwood which was built to the west on the estate. In 1903 she transferred Brooklandwood to her son Henry Carroll Brown who had married Margaret C. Daly. During his occupancy the stables burned and were rebuilt on the same site and the entrance gateways from both the Falls Road and the Valley Road were built.[17]

In 1911 title to Brooklandwood passed from Carroll Brown to trustees of his wife's estate and from them to Captain Isaac E. Emerson by means of a contract involving a three-year annual lease. In 1916 court proceedings established the new owner's title and the balance of the purchase money to be paid. Mrs. Matthew Looram, who inherited the property from her mother, Mrs. Emerson, now presides over this charming establishment. No important architectural changes have been made by the Emersons except to the farm buildings. After a serious fire a few years ago the great barn was not rebuilt and modern dairy farm buildings were substituted. A circular pool with a fountain was built on the terrace south of the house and the greenhouse from Cylburn, the Tyson-Cotten estate, was moved to gardens built west of the house.

[14] Stuart Rose, *The Maryland Hunt Cup* (New York: Huntington Press, 1931).
[15] *The Sun*, Baltimore, March 15, 1935.
[16] Boston: G. H. Polley, 1897.
[17] Information from Mrs. Dabney, 1948.

The tradition of brilliant marriages for the daughters of Brooklandwood to sons of important families away from Baltimore established by the Caton sisters has been carried on through the succeeding generations. Daughters of the George Browns married into the famous Chicago families established by Marshall Field and Potter Palmer. Through their daughters the Emersons have become allied with Vanderbilts, Bakers and McAdoos. It was probably the advent of the Catons which first put the stamp of fashion on the Green Spring Valley, a reputation which it has sustained for 150 years.

The beginning of the Brooklandwood estate was the purchase by Charles Carroll of three hundred and three acres from John Cockey on the 18th of July, 1788. In October of 1790 he bought land east of the Falls Road from Thomas Cockey, part of which was delightfully called " Part of Addition to Poor Jamaica Man's Plague." By purchase of other land to the west he had increased his holdings to six hundred and ninety one acres by 1803 when he had the tract resurveyed. In 1812 there were fourteen hundred acres. In 1846 at the time of the sale to the Browns there were seventeen hundred and ninety-two acres. From this point it declined until at the sale to the Emersons there were but three hundred and seventy acres. Today there are approximately four hundred.

The site of the mansion is one of the finest of the older Maryland houses. Perhaps because the house was built as a summer residence, the hill top site was possible and even to be preferred. Such a site would probably not have been chosen for a house to be heated through the winter. The magnificent view to the south appears today much as it must have in Caton's day. The two descending semicircular terraces on which the house stands are unchanged and even the two honey locusts that were large trees flanking the central block of the house a hundred years ago are still standing, though one of them was almost destroyed in a recent storm. Beyond the terraces the land falls away to the broad valley floor. About half way across the valley the farm buildings make a spot of interest and give a note of domestic tranquillity. Beyond them are open fields until the wooded hills rise suddenly on the valley's southern side. A little to the east the valley of Jones's Falls unfolds to the south in gently rolling wooded hills. It is quite surprising that, because of the hills and

trees, this rather thickly populated area still looks like virgin country. The one conspicuous contemporary landmark is the Aztec top of the O'Sullivan Building in Baltimore City, nestled in the farthest fold of the Jones Falls Valley.

To the north the entrance drive leaves a sweep in front of the house and goes straight to the Falls Road along a little ridge. This approach is dominantly of the era of the Browns and is architecturally quite pleasing. The drive is bordered by grass plots of comfortable width before the lines of trees and shrubs mask the fall of the land to either side. Half way between the house and the Falls Road the stable is built about a walled court yard that opens to the drive. It is a charming building of the American revival of the English Georgian, typical of the best work of the early twentieth century. The architect was James Darragh, of New York, who also did other work in the neighborhood. The gates, gate houses and walls that flank the entrance from the Falls Road are of the same period and of the same good quality of design. Their painted brick walls and green tin roofs tie them into the house but they look English and not American. This work was designed by an English architect T. H. Mawson, in whose book, *Civic Art*,[18] a drawing of it appears. It was done soon after 1903 by the Carroll Browns. The entrance gates and walls from the Valley Road were also built by Mr. Carroll Brown but were added later.

Over the years the house of Brooklandwood has been changed considerably. The earliest record that we have of the house is from the Tax Assessment Book, " Back River Upper and Middle River Upper Hundreds," 1798, taken by John Orrick. Richard Caton's assessment lists one brick house, two stories, 33 by 57 feet. These are the dimensions of the central block of the house before the north wall was removed and the house enlarged, as is attested by the existing walls in the basement story. Also listed was another brick house 27 by 31 feet, one frame house 16 by 22 feet, one brick dairy 16 by 22 feet, one hen house 14 by 27 feet, one wash house 10 by 12 feet, one smoke house 13 by 15 feet, one frame hen house 13 by 16 feet. All of these dependencies have long since disappeared but as only four acres of land were valued with them they were probably clustered about the main house.

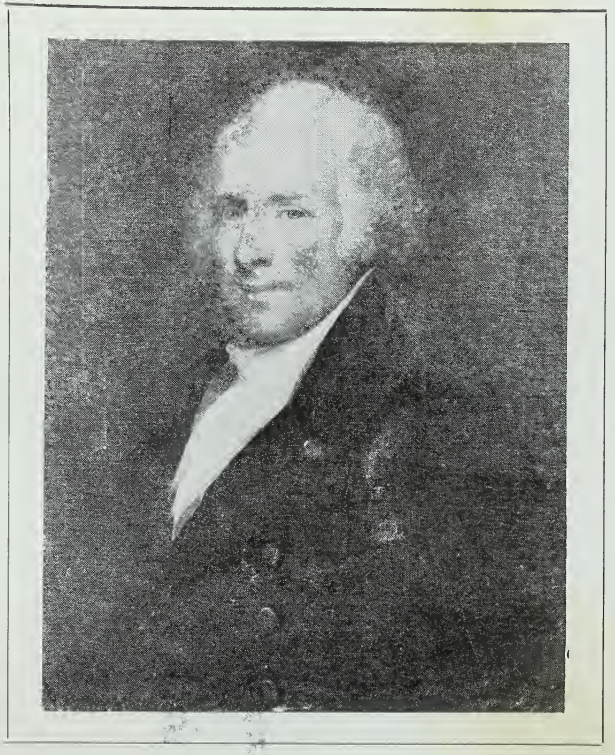
[18] London: Batsford, 1911.

Approach Front, Brooklandwood
Photograph made about the time of the Civil War
Courtesy of Mrs. Matthew J. Looram

Garden Front, Brooklandwood
Photograph made about the time of the Civil War
Courtesy of Mrs. William M. Dabney

Mrs. Richard Caton, 1770-1846
(Mary Carroll)
Artist not known

Collection of Miss Mary Carroll MacTavish



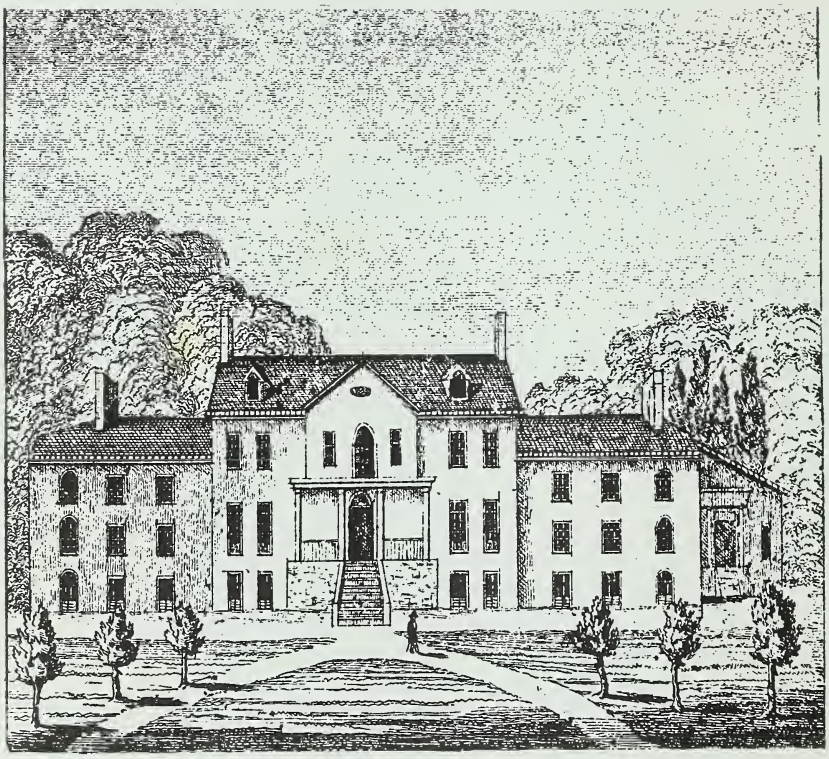
Richard Caton, 1763-1845
Artist not known

Collection of Miss Mary Carroll MacTavish

"The Three Graces": Marianne, Louisa Catherine and Elizabeth Caton.
Daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Caton.

By William E. West

The individual identities of the figures in this painting unfortunately have not been preserved. In the center is probably Marianne, the eldest who married, first, Robert Patterson and after his death the Duke of Wellesley. Louisa became, first, the wife of Sir Felton Hervey Bathurst, Baronet, and then the Duchess of Leeds. Elizabeth, the third daughter, married the eighth Viscount and Baron Stafford.



Brookland Wood
The Residence of Alex. D. Brown, Esq!

From Robert Taylor's Map of Baltimore City and County, 1857.

The farm lands were valued separately and listed as five hundred and thirty acres.

In the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* of December 15, 1812, Richard Caton gave a very interesting description of the place in the following advertisement:

FOR SALE

The beautiful and highly improved Estate of BROOKLANDWOOD. It is situated in the valley of Jones' Falls, and on the Falls turnpike road, distant nine miles from the city of Baltimore. There is an elegant house on the premises, the main building of which is 57 feet front, with a portico 27 by 10, the roof of which is supported by a colonade—The wings of the house have each a front of thirty feet, of which a part is unfinished—The entire building is laid off into a hall, or saloon 39 feet by 16, two parlours, a library, butler's room, fourteen bed chambers, and every convenience in good style and arrangement. The Stable establishment is very complete, contained within a building of good architecture, of 90 feet by 30, and consists of two Stables, a cow house, a roomy coach house, harness room, manure pits, gardner's house, root cellars, tool house, and groom's Apartments. There is a large hot bed yard in good condition fronting the stable. There are also, conveniently situated a bathing house, and an Ice House; a fruit garden, a vegetable garden, and three orchards. This estate contains 1400 acres of land, of which nearly 500 are in wood—1,000 acres including 350 to 400 of wood may be ranked among the first farms in the United States. Nearly 400 acres of this may be irrigated, and made into upland meadow. The land is of the first quality for wheat, lies on limestone of easy access. The quantity of 1400 acres offered for sale, is capable of a division into four farms, with much convenience.

On the premises is a Merchant Mill, with three pairs of stones, that will be sold with or without the farms. There are besides, two or three Mill Seats, calculated for Manufactories; as the country is healthy and abundant, and in point of beauty of situation, embellishment and fertility, the property now offered for sale is unrivalled. There is a bed of soft and fine-grained marble on the Land, and yields slabs of the largest dimensions, with little trouble and expense.

A long credit will be given for a great portion of the purchase money, on paying the interest annually. For terms, apply to Johnston Clark, on the premises, or to James Neilson, No. 46 South St., Baltimore.

RICHARD CATON

Of course, real estate advertisements are notorious for their glowing descriptions, but in this case they were well warranted. To an architect it is interesting to note that "good architecture," even as expressed in stables, was a selling point worth pointing

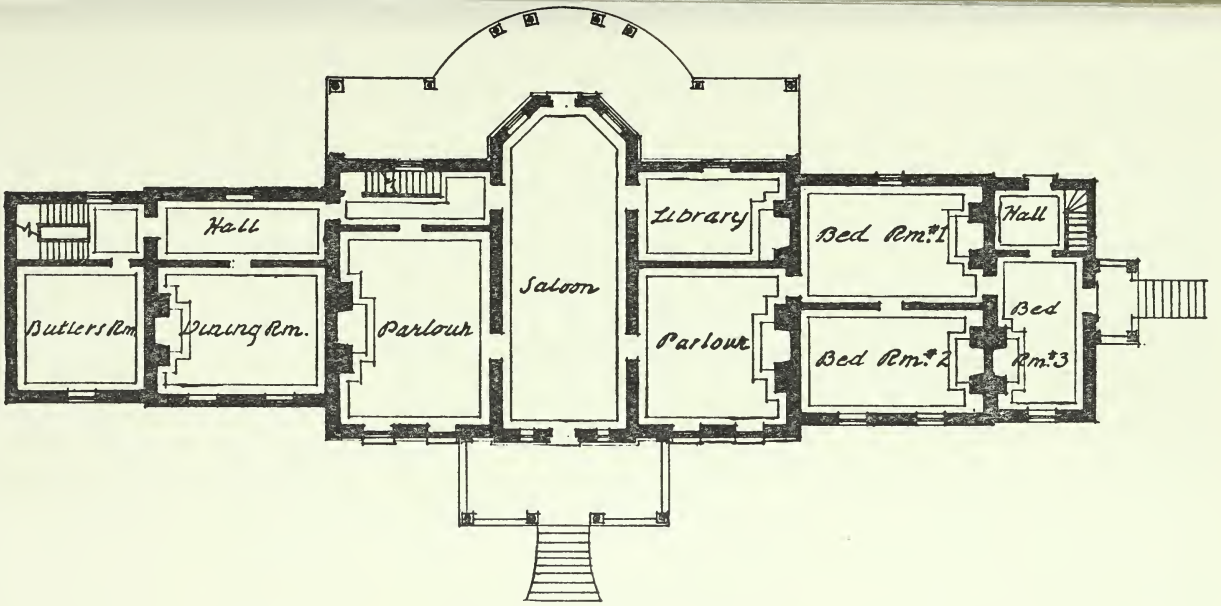
out. The statement that there were two wings but that they were unfinished dates them for us. It is needless to add that at this time Mr. Caton was in serious financial difficulty.

The house, complete with its wings, appears as a border illustration on Robert Taylor's map of the "The City and County of Baltimore," dated 1857, and the present owner also has two photographs, one of the north and one of the south elevation. The one of the north elevation was probably taken just before the Civil War and the other a few years later. They are said to have been found in London. It is pleasant to think that they may have belonged to one of the Caton sisters.

These sources show a mansion symmetrical in both the north and south elevations, except that the west end motive is a few feet wider than the east one. It is of a five part composition, so dear to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but all of two stories, so that it does not conform to the more usual design of a main block with two end pavilions connected by passages or curtains.

The central motive on the north was a hipped roofed semi-octagonal bay, with short straight returns to the main house. The central face of the bay was slightly longer and contained a round headed window in the second story and a high, narrow doorway with semicircular transom on the first floor. The sloping sides of the bay had blank square headed panels of the same size as the adjoining windows of the main block on the second floor. On the first floor these sides had a single window with sills lining with the windows in the wings. The foundation of this motive still exists in the basement story. A porch extended entirely across the main block. It curved out around the central motive. Of its eight columns four were paired at the sides of the central doorway. This central motive and porch closely resemble those of Belvedere as shown in a painting in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society. The half octogan with hipped roof was a popular building form in Annapolis where the Carrolls and Catons spent much of their time.

On the south, where the land falls away enough to expose most of the basement, the central motive was a slight forward projection with a pediment which broke the horizontal cornice. On the second floor it had a very successful Palladian window. On the first floor this motive contained a round headed doorway and two



BROOKLANDWOOD IN 1860

RECONSTRUCTED FLOOR PLAN BY THE AUTHOR

This plan of Brooklandwood is thought, by its author, to show the development of the house as completed by the Catons. It is dated 1860 because it shows the north and east porches which were not mentioned by Caton in his advertisement of 1812 but which we see in the earliest photograph.

The perimeter walls and main division walls are all existing through the basement story. All fire places are existing except the one in the " Library " and the one in the " Bed Room No. 1." The earlier existence of these two is indicated by the foundations beneath them and the number of flues in the existing chimneys.

The locations of the stairs and cross partitions are undocumented but are based on the otherwise unexplainable location of the fireplaces, on the list of rooms from Caton's advertisement, on the necessities of a workable plan and to some extent on the existing basement masonry partitions.

distinct narrow windows, a treatment that is uncommon but is used also at Homewood. The porch on this side was flat roofed with four columns and extended only to the edges of the two windows nearest the center motive. This porch closely followed the north porch at Homewood in design. Its foundation still exists under the present porch. These similarities and the fact that the two houses were built in close succession for the same patron, suggest that Brooklandwood may have been built by William Edwards, the builder of Homewood.

On the south the central motive was flanked on both sides by two windows in each story. These windows on the second floor were, as they still are, three lights wide and five lights high, three in the upper sash and two in the lower. On the first floor they were the same width but had four lights in each sash extending them to the floor and each had a small iron balcony. On the north the central motive was flanked by only one window in each story. The window sizes, however, corresponded to those on the south. This block was roofed by a gambrel roof with the flush chimneys concealing the small low pitched portions of the roof on the gable ends. On both the north and south there were two pedimented dormers with round headed windows.

The first unit of the wings on each side of the central block had two smaller windows in each story on the south and again one on the north. The story heights were lower, thus dropping the cornice line. These wings break back from the main facade on both the north and south, that on the east being deeper than the one on the west.

The wings were roofed by flat pitched gable roofs that must always have been tin, as no shingle roof on them would have been weather tight. The gable ends were not expressed, as the hip roofs of the end motives conceal them, but they were marked by the chimneys, a wide one on the east end, a narrower one on the west.

The end units were small, having only one window in each story on the north and south and all were round headed, even those in the basement on the south, the only exception being the substitution of a door for the first story window on the north elevation of the east unit. These end units break back only a few inches from the adjoining facades, and this break was taken up in the depth of the cornice soffit so that it did not interrupt the

roof. The west unit was several feet wider than the east one. These end motives are quite similar to those on the main block of White Hall. On the east end of the house there was a small rectangular porch with a central door opening on to it. The detailing of the house was simple, with only the cornices rich in dentils and brackets, and the iron balconies to set it off.

No outside blinds are shown in the early photographs, and probably none were intended, as many houses of the period were designed without them. As later generations found, it is difficult to put blinds on Palladian motives and on windows that have small cast-iron balconies, as the four large south windows had. There would also have been interference with the porch pilasters on the south.

The brick of the house is painted a light color, and may have always been so, or it may have been done to tie all the building together when additions were made. Doughoregan is also painted, and painting was fashionable in the early nineteenth century. All of the brick work of the Carroll-Caton building is Flemish bond. The Browns used common bond for their additions.

Mrs. George Brown made extensive alterations during her occupancy. The entire north wall of the middle block was removed and a straight facade built, adding considerably (about fifteen feet) to the depth of the house. It is this facade that we now see and it is not a very successful one. The cornice was raised to permit the use of a Palladian motive in the center without breaking the cornice. The roof continued to be a gambrel type with a large relatively flat deck surrounded by a balustrade. Care was taken to match the cornice and other trim in an effort to keep the additions in the character of the old building.

The porch was entirely rebuilt, extending not only across the middle block, but across the east wing as well, and a porte-cochère was added. The wings themselves were altered on the first floor by additions.

On the south elevation the changes were not quite so radical. The round headed doorway with the two thin windows gave way to a wide, elliptical headed doorway with side lights identical with the one on the north. The porch was extended entirely across the south side of the main block and later as terraces beyond the first windows of the wings. Along the new porch the first floor's double-hung windows, and the iron balconies disappeared, and

were replaced by French doors. Outside blinds were installed at all windows with the resulting difficulties at the Palladian window. The east porch got another of the wide elliptical headed doorways, though not quite as wide as the other two, and grew a semicircular bulge in the center which the porch is really too small to carry. The original west end motive was apparently taken down and another two-story unit with four windows was added to the west end of the house.

The interior of the house was completely changed, both in plan and decoration by Mrs. George Brown when she enlarged the central block. It is probable that, originally, the house had one large room and stair hall on the west side of the wide central hall, and the library and small parlour on the east. The kitchen and other service rooms were in the basement and perhaps four corner bedrooms and a hall sitting room on the second floor. It is said that the wing added to the east contained a chapel, though Caton does not mention it in his advertisement, and that the small end motive was occupied by the estate office and a small hall. The west wing may have been a dining room and pantry. Now, the main floor still has the central hall. It is flanked on the north by two stair halls, one a grand one and the other more utilitarian. On the south there is a small parlor to the east and the dining room to the west. Large elliptical headed openings have been cut to these rooms and the main stair hall. The " chapel " in the east wing is now the living room and the estate office and hall in the end motive have been thrown into one and used as a study. In the west wing a hall extends along the north side, opening first into a breakfast room in the old wing (this room was a study in the Browns' time), then into a serving pantry and, finally, into another living room. These last two rooms are in the addition the Browns built to the west and the present kitchens are below them.

The work was done at the beginning of the Georgian revival so the detail, though over elaborate, is not foreign to the original house. The mantels were made by Meislahn, as was probably much of the other wood work. Mrs. Carroll Brown imported from England three marble mantels and richly carved trim of Georgian design for the main hall, small parlour and dining room. She also made several other minor decorative changes. The delicacy the house must have originally possessed has gone, but there

is still charm. The architecture of the interior gives a rich and appropriate background for its handsome furnishings.

It is fortunate that the house in its one hundred and fifty years has been occupied by only three families, and that these families have all taken pride in its beauty and have used the best taste of their respective periods with much regard for the original architecture in their inevitable changes to it.

ST. CHARLES COLLEGE: FOUNDATION AND EARLY YEARS

By Reverend JOHN J. TIERNEY, S. S.

St. Charles College, founded by Charles Carroll of Carrollton in 1830 as a school " for the education of young men of the Roman Catholic religion, for the ministry of the gospel," [1] is this year celebrating the centenary of its opening. By its very nature a specialized school, St. Charles has not been well-known to the general public of Baltimore or Maryland, not even to many Catholics. It has, however, been well-known to many generations of bishops and priests in almost every part of the country, for from its opening on October 31, 1848, it proved to be the first successful preparatory seminary in the country. As a Maryland institution, its history has been closely interwoven with two prominent Maryland families, the Carrolls and the Jenkinses. A famous Maryland clergyman, Samuel Eccleston of Chestertown, fifth Archbishop of Baltimore, was directly responsible for its opening.

The background of St. Charles is as old as the establishment of the American hierarchy and the coming of the Sulpicians from France to Maryland to establish a seminary for the young church in America. For one thing, Catholics were not many even in Maryland, the Calvert foundation. Few young men presented themselves at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, as candidates for the vast diocese which then was Baltimore. To remedy this situation, the Rev. W. L. DuBourg, S. S., (later bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas) opened St. Mary's College in 1799. By 1803 financial difficulties, occasioned by the paucity of clerical students, caused St. Mary's to be opened to any and all students. At once that college lost its character as a preparatory seminary. St. Mary's College from 1805 to 1828 supplied the Seminary with only thirty-one candidates for the priesthood; of these thirty-one, only seven became priests.[2] Next, under the Rev. F. C. Nagot, S.S.,

[1] *Laws of Maryland*, Session December 1829, Chapter 50, Preamble.
[2] *Procès-Verbal de la Visite des Établissements de S. Sulpice à Baltimore, faite en*

founder and first superior of St. Mary's Seminary, there was founded a preparatory Seminary at Pigeon Hill, Adams County, Pennsylvania, in 1806. This promising foundation was short-lived. Partially, this was due to a serious accident to Father Nagot, partially, to the return from France of M. Joseph Harent, an *émigré*, who once more had need for the property he previously had placed at the disposal of the Sulpicians. In 1808 the students from Pigeon Hill were transferred to Mount St. Mary's at Emmitsburg, the foundation of the Rev. John Dubois, S. S., (later bishop of New York). Faced with the same difficulty as St. Mary's College, mostly a lack of vocations and a corresponding need of money, the Mount opened its doors in 1811 to all comers.[3]

Besides the reasons already stated, lack of students and a corresponding lack of money, other reasons are not hard to find for this succession of failures. The tide of German and Irish immigration which so swelled Catholic numbers had not yet set in. In every sense of the word, the United States was a missionary country, and, as such, could not supply its own financial needs or personnel. Secondly, Catholics, as a body, were not well-to-do, and few could afford the modest tuitions asked. Thirdly, America was a land of rich opportunity, and the attractions of wealth had a powerful tendency to stifle a call to the ecclesiastical life.

If these failures to establish a feeder for the Seminary were discouraging to most Sulpicians, there was, nonetheless, one who was vitally interested, Ambrose Maréchal, S. S., third Archbishop of Baltimore. This interest coupled with an old and intimate friendship with Charles Carroll of Carrollton was destined to fill the need so long felt. One of a number of Sulpicians who had served as chaplain at Doughoregan Manor, Father Maréchal had won the confidence and affection of Maryland's first citizen. Elevated to the see of Baltimore, Archbishop Maréchal was now faced with the need of finding and encouraging vocations to the priesthood. His influence with Mr. Carroll persuaded the vener-

1829 par M. Carrière, Directeur du Séminaire de Paris. (Ms.) St. Mary's Seminary Archives. (Hereafter referred to as S. M. S. A.), p. 125. This manuscript contains copious information on St. Mary's Seminary and St. Mary's College.

[3] *Régistre des Assemblées*, May 26, 1818. (Ms.) S. M. S. A. This contains the records of the faculty meetings of the Baltimore Sulpicians and other important records. The story of Pigeon Hill and of Emmitsburg are sketched in *The Beginnings of the Society of St. Sulpice in the United States (1791-1829)*, by the Rev. Joseph W. Ruane, S. S. (Washington: 1935), pp. 160-168.

able Signer to back his project.[4] According to Sulpician tradition the actual task of winning over Mr. Carroll was left by the Archbishop to Miss Emily Caton, the Signer's granddaughter. As for land, Carroll was unwilling to break up his ancestral estate, but when Miss Caton pointed out land acquired through purchase by himself, he readily agreed to the project. The tract in question, opposite the Manor on Frederick Turnpike, was called "Mary's Lot," and the religious significance of that name prompted wholehearted cooperation on the part of the venerable patriarch. "Since it was so named, I will give it to the Church for the important design that you have in view." [5]

Having acquainted the Sulpicians with his plans, Mr. Carroll petitioned the Maryland Legislature for a charter on January 21, 1830. He did this almost two years after Archbishop Maréchal's death. There was speedy approval of the bill, which passed the legislature on February 3, 1830. Whether it was the influence of Archbiship Maréchal or of the Baltimore superior, Mr. Carroll had the legislators bind St. Charles College in such a way that it could not become a general college as had its predecessors. The charter was, then, most specific in its designation of the aims of the new college, for it stated:

> And be it further enacted, that all the property which shall be received, and held by the said Corporation, as well real as personal, and whether derived by gift, devise, bequest, purchase or otherwise, shall be held by them, to and for the only purpose, and in trust exclusively, for the education of pious young men of the Catholic persuasion, for the ministry of the gospel.[6]

The land given to the Sulpicians, "Mary's Lot," was part of Doughoregan Manor "enlarged" (to quote the deed) and amounted to 254½ acres. It formed a rough quadrangle with no distinctive landmarks on the east and west; on the north, however,

[4] The College catalogue of 1895 was the first to contain this information: "When, therefore, Dr. Maréchal had agreed with Mr. Carroll upon the foundation of the new College. . . ." p. 3.

[5] Rev. George E. Viger, S. S., *Golden Jubilee Book of St. Charles' College.* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1898), pp. 15-16. A history written for the celebration of that year. When checked against surviving documents etc., this volume has been found accurate and reliable though it lacks the appearances of a scientific history, having no footnotes and few citations of sources. Father Viger had full access to all the documents which perished in the fire of 1911, including the valuable Letter-book and Journal of Father Jenkins.

[6] *Laws of Maryland, 1829.* Chap. 50, Section 5.

it was bounded by the Little Patuxent River and on the south, by Frederick Turnpike. This property was directly opposite that section of the Manor where the great house itself was situated. Entrances to Doughoregan and to St. Charles faced each other across the Turnpike.

Appointed trustees of St. Charles were Louis Deluol, superior of the Sulpician community, John J. Chanche, Samuel Eccleston, John Tessier, and Alexius J. Elder. All were Sulpicians. Of the five, two were to be prelates, Chanche becoming Bishop of Natchez, and Eccleston, Archbishop of Baltimore. To Father Deluol as " the first Principal of the said Seminary," [7] Mr. William G. Read, the Carroll lawyer, brought the deed of the land, and a certificate for fifty shares of United States Bank stock.[8] " The letter of Mr. Carroll he gave to me on his knees in the room of Mr. Eccleston where he found me. I soon placed the deed on the altar to offer it to Our Lord." [9] The letter of Mr. Carroll to Father Deluol, delivered on the same occasion, stated that the trustees were always to be Sulpicians, requested that Mass be said once a month for himself and his family and contained the hope " that this gift may be useful to religion, and aid our Church in rearing those who will guide us in the way of truth. . . ." [10]

The trustees met for the first time on July 16, 1830. Officers were elected; a seal was adopted: " the arms of the Hon. Ch. Carroll of Carrollton with those of St. Sulpitius; a letter of gratitude was dispatched to Mr. Carroll, part of which read:

> It would be presumptuous, my dear sir, to offer our acknowledgments for a donation which gives you a claim to the gratitude of the whole American Church. Yet, as you have made us the channel of your pious and enlightened liberality, we may be allowed to say that we appreciate the honor implied in the choice. St. Charles Seminary will not, we pledge ourselves, be unfaithful to the memory of its venerable and illustrious founder. Impressed in its origin with the moral dignity associated with his name, it will be a lasting monument of his princely munificence.[11]

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[7] *Ibid.*, Sec. 6.

[8] Journal of the Corporation of St. Charles College in Anne Arundel County, now Howard County, Maryland, p. 8. (Hereafter cited as Journal of the Corporation). St. Charles College Archives. (Hereafter cited as S. C. C. A.)

[9] Diary of the Rev. Louis R. Deluol, S. S. (Ms.) March 27, 1830. This is a day by day record covering the years Father Deluol was head of St. Mary's Seminary, 1829-1849. (All references to Father Deluol's Diary are translations.) (Hereafter cited as Deluol's Diary). S. M. S. A.

[10] *Journal of the Corporation*, p. 8.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

It was a year from the granting of the charter before the trustees had formulated sufficient plans to proceed to the building.[12] Ignatius Boarman was the builder, but by May he was " praying the Board to accept his resignation of the charge of superintending the building of St. Charles College." The resignation was accepted and Mr. William Pamphilion was accepted " as being a man in every way calculated for the undertaking." [13] At the same time Mr. Adolphus Williamson (later a priest) gave three thousand dollars to the trustees, on condition that the front of the house should be built of cut granite. The condition was accepted.[14]

Work was far enough advanced for the laying of the corner-stone on July 11, 1831. The superior of St. Mary's Seminary noted in his diary:

> Blessing of the corner-stone of St. Charles. . . . Arrived at noon. Went at first to the Manor. Then between one and two o'clock came to the site. Mr. Carroll laid the corner-stone which the archbishop had just blessed. There were about a hundred persons present amongst whom were Mr. Caton, Mr. Mactavish with his daughter, Mary Wellesley, Dr. Tucker and his wife with their son. The latter with Mary Wellesley helped with the stone.[15]

A Baltimore newspaper carried the same information as did Father Deluol's diary, but added:

> The main building will be 80 feet by 60, constructed of dressed granite from a remarkably fine quarry lately opened in the vicinity. We have no doubt, from the intentions of the Board of Trustees aided by the talents of the distinguished architect, Mr. Small, and the activities of the undertaker, Mr. Pamphillion [*sic*], that the building will be an ornament to the State.[16]

Unfortunately, the wish of the *Gazette* was not to be so easily realized. The charter was granted on February 3, 1830, the school was opened October 31, 1848. Why this long delay? Reasons are not hard to find. St. Charles was, so far, the work of one man, Charles Carroll. The land, the endowment, the charter were his gift. Mr. Carroll died November 14, 1832, and the death of so

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[15] *Deluol's Diary*, July 11, 1831.
[16] *The Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, July 14, 1831. Mr. Small was doubtless William Small, a well-known Baltimore architect.

kind a benefactor was keenly felt. Most of all, then, funds were missing to bring the building to completion and to furnish it. Another reason for the delay was the indecision of the Sulpicians themselves, many of whom felt that the new institution might be a threat to St. Mary's College. As we have seen, St. Mary's, beginning as an auxiliary to the Seminary, had become a general college in 1803 through force of economic circumstances. Such a college was not strictly Sulpician work, but it was most flourishing; and it did give some students to the Seminary, so there was a hesitancy on the part of many Sulpicians to undertake a new work and from past experience one fraught with difficulty.[17] A verdict on St. Mary's College in relation to the Seminary is found in St. Mary's *Memorial Volume*:

> The measure taken in 1803, of receiving subjects without discrimination of creed or aspiration, while it gave impetus to St. Mary's College, destroyed its peculiar character of Preparatory Seminary. It became a mixed College, and comparatively few subjects found or preserved there clerical vocation.[18]

On the other hand, efforts were not lacking to open St. Charles College if the necessary money could be raised. Father Deluol wrote to the Congregation of the Propaganda in Rome asking assistance. He stated that some gifts had been received: Archbishop Whitfield had given $500; the Rev. Roger Smith, pastor of the Cathedral, $100; Adolphus Williamson, $3,000. In all, including Mr. Carroll's bank stock which amounted to $5,349, close to $10,000 had been received but " eight or ten thousand dollars are still necessary so that we can complete what we have begun to build." [19] Cardinal Pedicini, Prefect of Propaganda, sent a contribution of 500 scuta or about $500.[20]

On April 7, 1832, Father Deluol wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons similarly putting forth his case. He wrote not only in his capacity as head of the Sulpicians in the United States but also as Vicar General of Baltimore.[21] Archbishop Whitfield wrote the same Society on January 12, 1833,

[17] Viger, p. 15.
[18] *Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice,* (Baltimore: John Murphy and Co., 1891), p. 16.
[19] Letter-Book of the Rev. Louis Deluol, pp. 66-68.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69. A letter from Cardinal Pedicini to Father Deluol.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-65.

asking assistance for, and explaining the purpose and need of, St. Charles:

> In asking your Society's assistance in behalf of this institution so important for religion in this country, he [Father Deluol] explained to you its necessity, its purpose and the resources of the institution: its necessity is imperative, its purpose excellent, but unfortunately its resources are not in keeping with it, they are utterly insufficient as is clearly shown by the details given you in the above-mentioned letter.

After stating that the Roman Propaganda contributed 500 scuta, he stated that work had had to be suspended on the building which was now two-thirds completed. He then concluded:

> The desire I have to see a nursery established in my diocese for the training of young levites made me consecrate to this purpose part of the resources you kindly granted me last year, but in so doing I am placed in a situation which made it impossible for me to start or to continue other important undertakings.

On June 15, 1836, the new Archbishop of Baltimore, Samuel Eccleston, S. S., issued a letter to the Catholics of Baltimore in which he stated his hopes for the completion of two works: his cathedral and St. Charles. In a plea for funds for both projects he wrote:

> Another and still more important work is the finishing of St. Charles College. . . . This institution is intended exclusively for the preparatory education of Catholic boys who are disposed to devote themselves to the holy ministry. There, they will be free from the dangers to which their vocation might be exposed in secular colleges. . . . In the estimation of those who have had the best opportunities of coming to a correct judgment such an establishment, if not indispensable, is at least the greatest *desideratum* in the American church.[22]

In writing to the Propagation of the Faith, on January 31, 1838, Archbishop Eccleston asked assistance for St. Charles stating that " the only means to obtain a clergy adapted to our needs and fitted to the missions of this country, is to found an institution exclusively devoted to the education of those who wish to study for the priesthood." Moreover, he continues, " considering this nursery of clerical students as the hope of my diocese, I have several times gathered the faithful together to stimulate their

[22] Circular letter *To the Catholics of Baltimore*, June 15, 1836. St. Charles College Archives (Hereafter cited as S.C.C.A.).

charity, and have even gone from door to door to solicit assistance." [23]

To similar thoughts the Archbishop had given expression when writing to the same association in 1843:

> One of the things that I desire most, is the formation of a national clergy accustomed from infancy to the manners and language of the country, and at the same time pious, instructed, and sufficiently numerous. On the other hand, the vocation of our young Americans is too liable to be lost in colleges, where they necessarily come in contact with Protestants and other fellow students, whose heads are already filled with ideas of money, of speculation, commerce, etc. . . ." [24]

Some financial help did come during these years of delay. Besides what has been mentioned, Mr. Thomas C. Jenkins, Sr., gave $1,090 in 1834. In February, 1841, Mrs. Edward Jenkins gave $800. The handsome sum of $6,000 was the gift of the Rev. B. S. Piot, pastor of St. Paul's Church, Ellicott Mills. It was his entire patrimony and given on the condition that his wants should be provided for in his old age. This gift came in 1840 and with it the debts were paid and some improvements were made within the house. Up to 1848, Colonel William Drury of Washington County gave $5,816 and from his estate in 1848 came the sum of $2,430.[25] These gifts made it possible for the Archbishop to seriously consider the opening of St. Charles.

On September 26, 1848, the Reverend Louis Deluol, president of St. Mary's Seminary and of the trustees of St. Charles, and superior of the Sulpicians in the United States, received a visit from Archbishop Eccleston. Father Deluol stated in his diary that the Archbishop "came in order to start St. Charles College. I do not believe in the success of the enterprise, but since Msgr. wills it, so shall it be done." [26] On September 29 the Archbishop wrote to the Reverend Oliver L. Jenkins, S. S., Professor at St. Mary's College, appointing him President of St. Charles College. Father Jenkins wrote in his *Journal*:

> After some hesitation, I wrote an answer to the Most Rev. Archbishop, telling him that I could not consider myself as President, since the Superior had not yet said a word to me about it. However, in the afternoon, in a

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[23] Viger, pp. 22, 23.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[25] An account in the handwriting of the Rev. O. L. Jenkins (S.C.C.A.).
[26] *Deluol's Diary*, September 26, 1848.

conversation which I had with Mr. Deluol, he told me that, although it went against his feelings to part with me, and although he had great doubts as to the success of the scheme, yet he thought it was the will of God, that I should undertake the charge which the Archbishop wished to be confided to me.[27]

The selection of Father Jenkins seems to have been the work of the Reverend Gilbert Raymond, S. S., President of St. Mary's College. He is said to have suggested this member of his faculty to the Archbishop.[28] On October 1, Fathers Jenkins and Raymond paid a visit to St. Charles to inspect the site and the building.[29] On October 4, there was a meeting of the remaining trustees named in the Act of 1830: the Archbishop, Fathers Deluol and Elder. The business was to fill the two vacancies caused by the death of Father Tessier and the departure of Bishop Chanche for the see of Natchez. Those elected were Fathers Jenkins and Raymond.[30] On October 5, the Archbishop issued a letter to the priests and people of his diocese, setting forth his reasons for opening St. Charles. He lamented the great lack of priests to staff his parishes and at the same time he noted that the harvest of souls was " spreading and thickening." He paid high tribute to the zealous work of the " devoted clergymen from foreign lands " but went on to say: " The experience of all ages and Christian countries proves that a National Church must seek within its own bosom the resources of its own fecundity and prosperity." In conclusion, the Archbishop ordered a collection to be taken up in all his churches the Sunday after this letter was read that funds might be on hand to furnish the house and defray immediate necessities. Also, every year a collection should be taken up in his churches for the benefit of St. Charles College.[31]

On October 30, Archbishop Eccleston came to St. Mary's Seminary to attend a dinner honoring Father Jenkins and to accept the resignation of Father Elder as a trustee.[32] The next day Father Jenkins betook himself to the building standing empty these seventeen years, and, by that evening, St. Charles College had

[27] Viger, p. 11.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[29] *Deluol's Diary*, October 1, 1848.
[30] *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1848. Journal, p. 11.
[31] *The United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review.* Nov. 1848. pp. 602-603.
[32] *Deluol's Diary*, Oct. 30, 1848. Journal, p. 11.

begun its existence. With Father Jenkins went one teacher, Rev. Mr. Edward Caton, a deacon; Catherine Naddy, a housekeeper; and four students, all from Baltimore: John B. Connolly, Michael Dausch, Joseph Gross, and William Garvey." [33] It was a busy day and, no doubt, a unique one especially for the four young men. Night prayers and meditation closed the day. In his *Journal* Father Jenkins wrote for that day: "So much for the first day, one for me of great anxiety, but withal a prosperous Commencement." [34]

The prospectus of St. Charles, issued by Father Jenkins concurrently with the Archbishop's circular letter, clearly stated the aim and purpose of the Carroll foundation. Moreover, the history of a hundred years has been a faithful reflection of that policy laid down by its founder and its first president:

> The object of this institution is to give a religious and classical education only to that class of youth, whose piety, natural endowments, and aptitude for Church ceremonies and functions, give sufficient indications of a vocation to the ECCLESIASTICAL STATE. These indications are left to the decision of their confessor, whose recommendation will be required for their reception. If however, upon examination, any one is found unsuited to the clerical state, he will be advised to retire. Every effort will be made to promote the happiness of those confided to the care of the institution; to maintain a spirit of piety, and that practice of those Christian virtues, which will prepare them for becoming zealous and efficient clergymen and future ornaments of the sanctuary.[35]

The course of studies was outlined by Father Jenkins in the prospectus as follows:

> Latin, Greek, English, French and German languages; History, Geography, Mathematics, Moral and Natural Philosophy. The study of the Catholic Doctrine, Religious Ceremonies and Singing will also form an essential portion of the education imparted by the establishment.[36]

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[33] *A Complete List of the Students Entered at St. Charles' College, Ellicott City, Maryland, Since the Opening, October 31st, 1848.* (Staten Island, N. Y.: Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, 1897). No pagination. Students listed as they entered. Index. (Hereafter cited as *St. Charles' College Student List, 1848-1897.*)

[34] Viger, p. 12.

[35] In the *Golden Jubilee volume*, p 27. the author has the following interesting comment to make on this point: "This adherence to principle was put to the test when, in 1849, an application was made for the admission of a great-grandson of the founder. As the young man had no intention to study for the Church, the trustees, honored though they were by the application, and anxious to show their gratitude to the family of their first benefactor, were obliged to give a refusal. The incident was like a seal confirming the condition which requires a clerical spirit for admission into St. Charles College."

[36] *The United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review*, Nov. 1848, p. 603.

This course of studies has somewhat been modified to meet educational demands or Church requirements, but St. Charles College still remains a classical school as Father Jenkins outlined it. A change is noted by 1863 when the course of Moral and Natural Philosophy was shifted to St. Mary's Seminary.[37] but the rest of the course remained the same. In comparing the original course offered with the latest catalogue, one finds little difference indeed: Latin, Greek, English, French and German, History, Mathematics, General Science, Physics and Chemistry, Public Speaking, Religion and Gregorian Chant.

In speaking of the schooling proper, it should be understood that the minor or preparatory and the major seminary courses together cover a twelve year period, each course of six years duration. The preparatory seminary offers four years of high school and two of college, the seminary, the remaining two of college, called Philosophy, and four of post-graduate work in theology. St. Charles College is the classical department of St. Mary's University (St. Mary's Seminary was created a pontifical university in 1822 by Pius VII at the request of Archbishop Maréchal). As would be expected, since Latin is the official language of the Catholic Church, the greatest emphasis is placed upon that language in the curriculum. Beyond this emphasis on Latin, the course offered in a preparatory seminary differs little from any school of the classical tradition.

In its conclusion, the prospectus stated that the terms were $100, payable half-yearly in advance. If clothing were supplied by the school, the terms were $130, but there were no extras. In the '60's the tuition became $120 yearly and $180 in the '70's. If the vacation period was spent at the College, an extra $30 was charged.[38]

Little is known of that first year. Seventeen boys registered but three left during the year. The end of the year saw professors come from the seminary in Baltimore to conduct, along with Father Jenkins and Mr. Caton, the oral examinations which were long the practice at the end of the school year. On July 13, wrote Father Jenkins in his Journal, " the whole day was occupied in the examination of twelve boys, who generally answered satis-

[37] Prospectus of St. Charles's College, 1863. S. C. C. A.
[38] Prospectus of 1863 and of 1871. (S.C.C.A.)

factorily. The time allotted to each one for examination was a half hour. Next day the examination was continued, followed by the Distribution of Premiums." [39] Vacations came late in those days and, even in the '60's, vacations began on or after July 4. Commencements have normally, from the first commencement to the last one, been presided over by the Archbishop of Baltimore.[40] In 1853, Archbishop Bedini, papal nuncio to Brazil, attended with Archbishop Kenrick. At the Commencement on July 12, 1857, Colonel Charles Carroll, grandson of the Signer, presided, and the address was given by James Gibbons, the future Cardinal.[41] In 1879 the Commencement was presided over by Governor John Lee Carroll.

A glance at the early days of St. Charles is sufficient evidence that life was hard indeed, but willingly borne for the sake of the goal. Before taking up the students, the professors, and the buildings, the following quotation may serve to show primitive conditions:

> The prospect of the priesthood at a future day, and the thought of the high moral obligations entailed by this vocation, have been, in the hands of the directors, a powerful means of action on the students; and, for the students themselves, very influential motives. It was such motives that stimulated them to bear the hardships of community life, which were not inconsiderable, especially in the beginning. Indeed, those times were full of privations for both masters and students. Fr. Jenkins was President, treasurer, prefect of discipline and studies, teacher of most of the classes, and teacher, too, in theology, of Rev. Mr. Caton. Professors and pupils took their recreation and their walks together; together also they sat at the same table, where to have fresh meat once a week was a luxury. Then and for many years after, they worked occasionally in the field, helping at planting or husking corn.[42]

In the beginning, the school was small, but there was a steady growth in numbers although declines are noted regularly in years following business panics or depressions. The following figures show the registration of students for the first twenty years:

[39] Viger, p. 28.
[40] From 1860 to 1869 there were three commencement speeches, one in Latin, one in French, and one in English. After 1869 the French speech was discontinued; the Latin was discontinued in 1933.
[41] Viger, pp. 30, 31.
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.

1848 — 17	1853 — 15	1858 — 56	1863 — 49
1849 — 12	1854 — 24	1859 — 63	1864 — 50
1850 — 14	1855 — 29	1860 — 46	1865 — 70
1851 — 14	1856 — 45	1861 — 26	1866 — 65
1852 — 24	1857 — 37	1862 — 43	1867 — 61

That first year all students came from the archdiocese of Baltimore, 13 from Maryland and 4 from the District of Columbia. The second year saw the first out-of-staters represented: one from New York City and two from Canton, Ohio. The third year saw a student from Toronto, Canada. Thereafter, students came from most sections of the country east of the Mississippi, although the South was never strongly represented. In the first twenty-five years, 242 students came from Maryland and 40 from the District of Columbia, a total of 282 for the Baltimore archdiocese. The second twenty-five years saw 212 from the state and 62 from the District, or a total of 274. In the first quarter-century New York state sent 177 and Massachusetts 174. In the second, New York led in students with 295, Maryland and the District had 274, Massachusetts 226, Connecticut 217. The first fifty years saw 8 from California and 62 from foreign countries.[43] Of the Maryland students the majority came from Baltimore.

The first two professors, Father Jenkins and Mr. Caton, have been mentioned. Mr. Caton remained as teacher until 1852. The second year saw the advent of two outstanding men. Father Gilbert Raymond, S. S., who first had suggested Father Jenkins to Archbishop Eccleston, came to replace Father Jenkins as president of St. Charles when the latter was called to the presidency of St. Mary's College. Father Raymond is spoken of as a cultured man of versatile talents, extensive acquirements, and quite indefatigable. He remained head of St. Charles only one year (Sept. 1, 1849 — Sept. 26, 1850) when he was recalled to France.[44] The second man was the Reverend J. B. Menu, S. S., who arrived from France in 1849, and remained there until his death on March 10,

[43] Figures are taken from the *St. Charles College Student List*, 1848-1897, and from college catalogues.

[44] *Deluol's Diary*, Aug. 28, 29, 30, 31; Sept. 1, 1849. Lhomme's Diary. (Ms) Sept. 26, 1850 (Tr) (S. M. S. A.). The Rev. Francis Lhomme succeeded Father Deluol as superior of the Sulpicians in the United States. He kept a diary or record-book such as had Father Deluol, but by no means is it as complete or as extensive. There are many references to Father Raymond in the rough draft of the Dialogue History of 1879 by the Rev. G. E. Viger, S. S.

1888. He was easily the best remembered and most revered member of the faculty at old St. Charles.[45] He is said to have done the work of three men from 1849 to 1870 and thereafter of two men until his death. He arose at 3:30 A. M. " and thus had broken the neck of the day's work, when others began to open their eyes to its dawn." [46] He learned English at the age of 28, and the mistakes he made in using the language were treasured by the boys for hours of merriment. He was the most celebrated disciplinarian in the history of St. Charles. Father Menu presided over innumerable classes, studies, recreations, a dormitory, and ceremonies. On hearing of his death, Cardinal Gibbons, an old pupil, exclaimed, " One of the pillars of the College is overthrown." [47]

Two well known teachers who came from St. Mary's College after its suppression were the Reverend J. B. Randanne, S. S., author of a celebrated Latin grammar, and the Reverend Peter Fredet, S. S., author of the widely used *Ancient History* and *Modern History*. Two teachers, then students in theology, in after years members of the hierarchy, were P. L. Chapelle, later Archbishop of New Orleans, and T. M. A. Burke, later Bishop of Albany. The most celebrated teacher, and the one most widely known, was the Reverend John B. Tabb, the poet, who was on the faculty in 1874-75, 1877-82, 1885 to his death in 1909. There were many other priests, mostly French, beloved by generations of boys: the Reverends H. M. Chapuis, S. S., S. Guilbaud, S. S., G. E. Viger, S. S., A. J. Vuibert, S. S., A. S. Fonteneau, S. S., C. J. Judge, S. S., P. P. Denis, S. S., P. F. Roux, S. S.

The first building, 80 by 60 feet, erected in 1832, was not fully complete in 1848. Substantially it was ready to receive a small community: with 45 students it was crowded. When Father Piot's legacy was received in 1840, the debts could be paid and some improvements made in the interior. In 1843 in his letter (*vide* note 23) to the Propagation of the Faith, Archbishop Eccleston had written that " we have not the funds required to complete it." When opened, the original building contained on its first floor

[45] The term " old " St. Charles is used of the school which opened in 1848 and which was destroyed by fire on March 16, 1911. The post office address was Ellicott City. The term " new " St. Charles is used of the same school which was transferred to Cloud Cap, Catonsville, after the fire.

[46] Viger, p. 36.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

a chapel, a study hall, a dining-room, a parlor, and a president's office. There was also a small kitchen-wing extending back from the refectory some forty feet. The second floor contained sleeping quarters and wash-rooms. The third floor and attic were unfinished.

In 1853, with 45 students, the house could accommodate no more.[48] By finishing the third floor and attic, and by rearranging the house (the chapel was moved to a larger room on the second floor), room was created, in 1855, for 70 students. By 1859, however, the house had grown to 102 students. The trustees thereupon added a wing to the west side of the house, 67 feet long, and made it higher and projecting so as to serve for a center building if a third wing should be added. As it developed, the third wing, corresponding exactly to the dimensions and form of the first building, was erected in 1859.[49] The house now had a frontage of 223 feet.[50]

The chapel was begun in 1860. This edifice was built attached to and running back from the third wing of the building. The plans for the chapel were designed by the Reverend Stephen M. Faillon, S. S., representative of the Superior-General of St. Sulpice, and official Visitor to the Society in the United States.[51] The chapel was modelled upon Sainte Chapelle of Paris. It was 110 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 50 feet from the floor to the apex of the arches.[52] A letter from a student to his uncle contains information concerning the laying of the corner stone:

> On the 22nd inst. [May] the corner stone of the new chapel was laid. There were present at the ceremony, Most Rev. Archbishop Kenrick, a large number of the clergy of Baltimore, the greater part of the Seminarians, the Hon. Mr. Carroll, and many other friends of the institution. The other wing of the college which was not expected to be commenced for some years, is already begun.[53]

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[48] Viger, p. 31.
[49] Journal of the Corporation, p. 51. Trustees' meetings, May 20, 1858; Aug. 2, 1859.
[50] Viger, p. 31. An account of this building which appeared in *The Sun* (Baltimore), Oct. 17, 1860, gives different figures and arrives at a total of 226 feet. The architect of the new wings was S. Robinson Powell, of Baltimore.
[51] *Vie de M. Faillon* (Paris: Jules Vic, Libraire, 1877), p. 250.
[52] For the width, *The Sun*, Oct. 17, 1860, gave 44 feet.
[53] Letter of J. P. Collon to James Dowling, May 30, 1860. (S.C.C.A.)

The Sun, of Baltimore, contained in its article of Oct. 17, 1860, the following description:

> The Chapel will be finished upon the exterior with large buttresses, having moulded terminations. The interior will be arranged with triple columns, crowned with foliated capitals and moulded bases. The ribbing of the ceiling will have bosses at the intersection of the mouldings and heavy pendants where desired. The window casements, which are thirty feet high, will be filled in with scriptural illustrations in stained glass. Grained ceilings and trefoil paneling will embellish and ornament the galleries at the end of the chapel. The effect of the interior will be exceedingly fine.—Rev. O. L. Jenkins is the president of St. Charles College, and the institution owes much of its prosperity to his zealous labors.

There can be no doubt that what *The Sun* said about Father Jenkins is true, and no account of St. Charles College could be complete without some knowledge of him who has rightly been called the second founder. Born the son of Thomas Courtney Jenkins and Elizabeth Gould Jenkins [54] on June 17, 1813, Oliver Lawrence Jenkins was descended of an old and wealthy Maryland family. Of his earliest education we know nothing. He entered St. Mary's College on February 24, 1825, when less than twelve years of age. From St. Mary's he graduated with distinction on July 19, 1831, and, turning to a business career, took a position with the Union Bank of Baltimore. For ten years he worked in the bank, although during this period he found time to spend one year traveling in Europe with his brother Lewis, who was ill. Three years after his return, Oliver Jenkins entered St. Mary's Seminary, January 2, 1841. His talents were such that young Jenkins taught in the College while studying at the Seminary. He was ordained by Archbishop Eccleston, December 21, 1844. After ordination he continued to teach at St. Mary's College, in the meantime joining the Sulpicians. Here it was that his positive and practical turn of mind suggested him to Father Raymond as a man capable of heading an institution. His appointment to St. Charles followed.

Father Jenkins was president of St. Charles for one year, October 31, 1848, to September 1, 1849, when he was called to St. Mary's College. The change was occasioned by the inability

[54] Chart of the Genealogy of the Descendants of William Jenkins . . . by Mark W. Jenkins, prior to 1879. Maryland Historical Society.

of Father Raymond to preserve order and discipline at St. Mary's. A firm hand was needed at such time because the Sulpicians had decided on the suppression of an institution not strictly their work. After the suppression in 1852, Father Jenkins returned to spend the remainder of his active and varied life at St. Charles.

To him the school owes much. A man of family background and wealth, with a punctilious regard for propriety, and a deep reverence for authority, he was an ideal man to set the pattern of an institution. And set it he did. Discipline of mind, heart, and conduct was the order of the day. Strict as were the French Sulpicians regarding discipline, it was said Father Jenkins was stricter than any of them. Forwardness he could not understand, to say nothing of disobedience. Once when students applauded an announcement of his, he silenced them with the remark: " Stop that. I don't want it. If I allow you to do that, you would think yourselves justified also in hissing me if I announced what displeased you." [55]

The earliest catalogue (school year 1876-77) speaks of Father Jenkins as a man who " devoted his life and his fortune " to St. Charles. It is known he gave large sums to the school, but he never wanted his benefactions known. The catalogue of 1912-13 spoke of " his patrimony of about $40,000." The following year the catalogue spoke of the patrimony as over $60,000. The catalogue of 1914-15 stated: " The benefactions in money alone for which St. Charles is beholden to him, amounted to over $70,000—a debt which other members of his distinguished family have since liberally enlarged.[56]

In the midst of a busy life, as teacher, as executive, and as builder,[57] Father Jenkins yet found time to prepare a text-book of English and American literature for use in Catholic schools.[58]

[55] From the reminiscences of the Rev. A. J. Vuibert, S. S., as taken down by the Rev. John J. Jepson, S. S. (Ms) (S.C.C.A.)

[56] Much of the information about Father Jenkins came from Father Viger. There was a rewriting of the catalogue in 1913 in which Father Jenkins was given a more prominent part. Since most records were destroyed by the fire, and admittedly Father Jenkins was extremely reticent about his gifts, any account of gifts must rely on little more than hearsay.

[57] Father Viger in notes for the Dialogue History of 1879 stated that during the years the chapel was being built, 1860-1866, Father Jenkins was never seen in recreation. Every spare minute of his time, not otherwise demanded by his official offices, he spent in working with his own hands in the building and finishing of the chapel.

[58] *Student's Handbook of English Literature* by the Rev. O. L. Jenkins, A. M., S. S., Twenty-eighth Revised Edition. (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1912). For a book

This book was left in manuscript and was put into book-form by J. Fairfax McLaughlin of Baltimore.[59] As the Handbook was the first of its kind, it met with instant success and was widely used in Catholic schools throughout this country and England. Few text-books can boast of so many editions.

The death of Father Jenkins on July 11, 1869, saw the institution flourishing beyond expectation. In those twenty years the faculty had grown from 2 professors to 13, and the students from 17 to 140. At his death, there were over a hundred alumni ordained priests. The work which Carroll founded and Jenkins began, was thus well on its way to fulfilling the aims of its founder. Unlike its predecessors, St. Charles has never opened its gates to any but those who hope to be priests. The 100 ordained alumni of 1869 have grown to 2,895 today with 417 alumni scattered in seminaries in the United States and Canada.

The life of St. Charles College and the meaning of a preparatory seminary have seldom been better told than in the words of the Rev. Eugene F. Harrigan, S. S., writing in the school's official publication, *The Borromean*, December 15, 1923, in connection with the Diamond Jubilee of 1923. They may serve as a fitting conclusion to the work of St. Charles College, preparatory seminary, as it now completes its first hundred years and begins its second in the service of God, Church, and country:

> While the exterior life of St. Charles does not differ to any great extent from that of the secular college the moral and religious training, which is its chief glory, imparts to the clerical candidate a spirit which is peculiarly his own; every detail of life, every prescription of the rule, is felt to be directed to the great end for which alone the house exists, the inculcation of the spirit of Christ. Though the administration of the house be in the hands of fallible agents, the direction of a boy's life is left to no uncertain human element; he is caught up by a system which is the fine fruit of long experience illumined by grace, worked out by men who thought of nothing but how to do Christ's work the more efficiently.

which went through so many editions, few copies are now available. It was used at St. Charles until 1931.

[59] J. Fairfax McLaughlin to the Rev. H. S. Ferté, March 22, 1872. S. C. C. A.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Woman with a Sword. By HOLLISTER NOBLE. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1948. 395 pp. $3.00.

Woman with a Sword is a corking good novel about Anna Ella Carroll, the Eastern Shore lady whose status as an "unofficial member of Lincoln's cabinet" long has dangled between accepted history and legend.

Readers of this absorbing story will want to know where to draw the line between fact and fiction. Probably an exact demarcation never will be possible. Certainly Anne Carroll served the Union with a clear and forceful pen by turning out numerous articles and pamphlets, some of which were reprinted as State papers. A daughter of Thomas King Carroll, one-time Governor of Maryland, and kinswoman of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Dr. Henry Stevenson of Baltimore, undoubtedly she was an intelligent woman. By reason of a highly unusual education and business career, probably she was qualified to do all that her champions said she did. And those claims were not small. They held that Anne Carroll alone conceived the Tennessee Plan—the extremely important Union strategy which served as a basis for the successful splitting of the Confederacy from west to sea.

Examination of some of the materials upon which those claims were based lends plausibility to the belief that Anne Carroll did enter into planning. Her trip to St. Louis on some kind of military business, her discussions with the Mississippi River pilot, Charles M. Scott, as to the navigability of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers and her close association with Lemuel Evans, a Texas Federalist—these are all as unquestioned as her work with her pen. Thus, it is only fair to move her story from the realm of legend to that of possible or even probable fact.

Nonetheless, to the careful historian, the question of degree remains. While indirect or negative evidence to substantiate the sweeping claims made for her is plentiful, no contemporary and conclusive acknowledgment of her services exists. Unfortunately for Anne Carroll's place in history, her agreements with Union officials were informal; she had no contract, appeared on no payroll and worked in deep secrecy. Tradition has it that northern authorities dared not shatter whatever prestige their generals enjoyed by informing the public that detailed and vital strategy—the most successful strategy of the war from their point of view—had originated in the mind of a civilian and a woman; that revelation would have been made but for Lincoln's death and the subsequent, lengthy political turmoil.

Obviously, here is the stuff of a good story and Mr. Noble makes the most of it. His characters are consistent and real and his situations believable. He deftly sketches in the background of chaos and inefficiency,

suspicion and uncertainty which prevailed in northern officialdom during the war. He is especially clever at weaving excerpts from Carrollana into his dialogue. His action moves quickly and is effectively paced. At a point shortly after the assassination of Lincoln, he ends his tale.

But Anne Carroll lived on. Beginning in 1870, her wartime associates repeatedly petitioned Congress for recognition of, and reward for, her services. Thomas A. Scott, former Assistant Secretary of War, Senator Benjamin F. Wade, ex-Chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and Lemuel D. Evans, wartime agent of the State Department and later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Texas, were among those who several times testified under oath as to the extent and worth of Anne Carroll's work. Perhaps in their anxiety to see justice done they went too far for some of their statements practically award full credit for winning the war to the "woman with a sword." Yet, that these men should have conspired to establish a fraudulent claim for Anne Carroll strains both logic and credulity. In the novel, incidentally, Mr. Noble seizes on the known collaboration between his heroine and Evans for romantic interest.

Congressional committees invariably reported favorably on the petitions—and pigeonholed them. The "unofficial cabinet member" received only partial payment for her writing and that, she later discovered, came from Thomas Scott's own pocket; for whatever planning she may have done, she obtained neither cash nor recognition. Yet some committeemen believed. In 1881, a bill was drawn, but never introduced, to confer upon Anne Carroll emoluments equal to those of a major general—an action which Mr. Noble moves forward sixteen years and, by implication, assigns to Lincoln. This, together with making Anne Carroll some ten years younger, appears to be the author's most outstanding tampering with events as they are said to have happened. He does present the fantastic theory that the Civil War resulted from a deliberate plot originated by southern leaders as far back as the 1830's; here, however, Mr. Noble is faithfully reporting a belief of his heroine's.

In her declining years, Anne Carroll's misfortunes were complicated by illness and poverty. Her cause was taken up by leading Woman Suffragists. In those days, there could be no more certain kiss of death.

From this elaboration of Mr. Noble's theme, then, the reader must set his own boundary between fact and fiction. The novel is skillfully built on many actual events. All of it could have happened. Two more possibly significant facts come to mind—first, during all the years of the dreary petitioning of Congress, no military man of major stature contested the claims made for Anne Carroll; second, some Congressmen went to extraordinary length of specious reasoning to dodge the issue. In any event, *Woman with a Sword* is a first rate novel, and if the Maryland lady did not build a fire under Union generals, she certainly gave rise to an abundance of dense, warm smoke.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE

Across the Wide Missouri. By BERNARD DE VOTO. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. xxvii, 483 pp. $10.00.

It is one of the curious twists of fortune that a history of American fur trading in the West should be of especial and local interest to the members of the Maryland Historical Society due to the fact that most of the illustrations in the book were painted on the spot by a Baltimore artist. The tradition of taking an artist on an expedition to record what is seen goes back centuries before the time of news photographers. The earliest printed book on travel, Breydenbach's *Peregrinations*, published at Mainz in 1486, has illustrations by an artist, Erhad Renwich of Utrecht, who had been taken on the journey to the Holy Land for this particular purpose. The custom continued and Delacroix's trip to Morocco in 1832 as the official painter of the Count de Mornay was another instance of the same thing. The news of this last may have been passed around among the travellers of the 1830's so that Captain William Drummond Stewart in making his preparations for a third trip from Saint Louis to Oregon in 1837 was led to seek out a painter to record the faces and scenes which meant so much to him. He chose Alfred Jacob Miller, a Baltimorean who had studied painting in Europe but who was temporarily seeking to make a living in New Orleans where Stewart was waiting to start on his third expedition.

Stewart's idea of taking his own artist along to paint what he saw, whether or not inspired by De Mornay's taking Delacroix to Morocco, was in any case a happy one. Miller, an excellent artist and careful one, also, insofar as we can now judge, left us the most accurate (and in many instances the earliest) pictorial record of this region that has come down to us. He painted portraits of many of the principal characters involved in the fur trading, pictures of scenes which are typical of the region, other pictures of scenes such as those of the everyday routine without which we would today be obliged to reconstruct the details from word descriptions, and scenes of the caravans and summer rendezvous which no other artist had the opportunity to paint, due to the brief period that the fur trading flourished. In this volume, profusely illustrated with 81 plates, 68 are taken from sketches and watercolours by Alfred Jacob Miller and these are less than half of the pictures of people and scenes which the artist has left to us.

In 1933 Mr. Macgill James and Miss Margery Whyte organized an exhibition of Miller's Indian paintings at the Peale Museum. The interest in his work naturally spread to the West and Mrs. Clyde Porter of Kansas City became an ardent collector which in due course led to this book by De Voto, as related by him. Miller's sketches and watercolours however cover a wider interest than just fur trading and it is probably high time that all of his sketches together with the notes made on the expedition in 1837 should be made readily accessible to all historians of the region. De Voto's book shows us how valuable his sketches are for historians.

MARVIN C. ROSS

The Walters Art Gallery.

The Architecture of the Old South, The Medieval Style, 1585-1850. By HOWARD [HENRY] CHANDLEE FORMAN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948. 203 pp., 285 illus. $10.

Dr. Forman writes not about the Old South of ante-bellum plantation houses with Jeffersonian porticoes and Greek Revival cornices but rather of the architecture of the first settlements in the Maryland and Virginia Tidewater. His period is the seventeenth century; his subject the survivals of English medieval architure in the early buildings of this region. The author's findings, based in large part upon excavations at St. Mary's City and Jamestown in which he took part, have already been published by him. They are restated here and supplemented by observations upon the contemporary town and country houses of Maryland and Virginia with brief reference to the Carolinas and Georgia. There is some mention of churches as well.

Since Fiske Kimball called attention to the strong medieval flavor of the wooden houses of seventeenth century New England with their steep gables and second story overhangs (1922) there has been growing recognition that the same characteristics prevailed in other parts of the country. Kimball himself cited the lost Bond Castle of Calvert County as a southern counterpart of the New England buildings. The Cupola House at Edenton, N. C., was established by Thomas Waterman (1941) as an early eighteenth century example of the same style. Many other instances were found to exist. Dr. Forman now brings these together and attempts to classify them according to methods of construction, plan and elevation in relation to their English prototypes.

Few readers will want to take issue with the author over his scheme of arrangement. The techniques of building are clearly described and demonstrated. The division of plan types seems soundly made and the recurrence of identical forms in Virginia and Maryland is extremely interesting. Where one does find fault, however, is with Dr. Forman's lack of thoroughness in dealing with certain aspects of his material. This is bound to distress all serious users of his book and to restrict the possibility of its being considered a definitive statement on the subject.

At the very outset his description of the first buildings on Roanoke Island is inadequate. He fails to employ the various literary sources for reconstructing the community and ignores Mr. Waterman's able interpretation of these writings (1941). No consideration is given to the early houses of the French in Florida in spite of the famous illustrations by Theodore de Bry, now newly published (1947). A chapter is devoted to the related seventeenth and eighteenth century buildings in Bermuda but no mention is made of the more important houses of the Barbadoes, despite Mr. Waterman's publication of Drax Hall and St. Nicholas Abbey in the *Art Bulletin* (1945). This is not mentioned in the Forman bibliography. Nor is there any reference to another of Mr. Waterman's articles, a study of three Virginia brick churches of the seventeenth century upon which Dr. Forman seems to have drawn for his text (*Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians*, 1944). In his analysis

of the Maryland cross type plan he mentions the Treasury at Annapolis but does not discuss it, although it is the only surviving example of the type, as he himself admits. The whole question of Susquehanna is for some reason excluded from the book. The chapter on South Carolina buildings of the Flemish-Jacobean style gives the impression of something compiled in haste and added at the last moment without sufficient study.

Even more serious than these omissions is the author's failure to reveal the sources for some of his reconstructions. St. Peter's Palace of 1639 at St. Mary's City is presented as a great square structure with hipped roof surmounted by a cupola and is advanced as a precedent for the later palace at Williamsburg. This statement, if properly supported, would be a discovery of the first importance. But Dr. Forman does not tell us how he reached his conclusions. To complicate the matter, he denies Waterman's claim that the destroyed Virginia house, Fairfield, of 1692 had the first hipped roof in the country, substituting the example of the long vanished Talbot County Court House of 1680 (where again no specific documents are quoted). But in this process Dr. Forman neglects the fact that he had already assigned a hipped roof to the reconstructed St. Peter's of 1639. Such contradictions as this destroy the reader's confidence and make him sceptical of the author's other unsubstantiated claims, as, for example, that some of the sash of Third Haven Meeting House of 1682 antedates the earliest recorded use of sash at the Capitol in Williamsburg in 1699.

Sometimes one disagrees with Dr. Forman about elements of design and construction which he considers to be purely medieval. In his effort to stress the importance of medieval survivals he has found them in certain elements of the great eighteenth century houses of Maryland and Virginia. Segmental arches are not *per se* medieval as anyone familiar with the rococo architecture of Europe and Latin America will readily concede. Segmental pediments indeed are one of the characteristic features of Italian Renaissance architecture. Also it is difficult to think of truncated pediments like the one at Stratford, which so obviously represents the effort of pretentious people to be classical, as anything but the Renaissance vagaries they are. In making these claims for great mansions Dr. Forman overstates and weakens his case. He seems to be right, however, when he argues that the medieval survivals in small houses were prolonged into the nineteenth century. It is to be regretted that the many plans of small houses, which constitute the bulk of the book's illustrations, were not drawn to scale.

Readers of Dr. Forman's book will be heartened to learn how many of these delightful small residences of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are still standing both in Maryland and Virginia. Because they are located for the most part on isolated farms in little visited parts of the states they are not nearly so well known as their counterparts in the towns of New England. A list of these houses in Maryland with indications of their exact whereabouts would be a most welcome and useful tool for this magazine to publish.

ROBERT C. SMITH

University of Pennsylvania.

Reply by Dr. Forman

There is some healthy criticism in this review, but much is superficial, and there are errors, as in the author's name.

This book is the first comprehensive history of the earliest architecture of the Old South, and it makes no claim to being "definitive." Florida and Barbadoes are not part of the Old South; Bermuda was included for purposes of comparison.

Space is lacking to correct many of the reviewer's statements. Regarding the Roanoke buildings, briefly described in an introductory chapter, reference (p. 6) for further study is made to the author's *Jamestown and St. Mary's* (1938) which the reviewer should recognize to be as "able" and full as Waterman's later interpretation of 1941. As for "St. Peter's Palace," by which the reviewer means St. Peter's or Governor's Castle (not to be confused with the Williamsburg "Governor's Palace"), it is an error to state that no sources are given. Page 108 states that "our excavations have revealed something of the original appearance," and page 112 cites the author's article in the *William and Mary Quarterly* for April, 1942, where the reviewer could have found that the reconstruction drawing was based partly on Kennedy's description in *Rob of the Bowl*. The whole detailed question as to similarity of the Castle to the Williamsburg "Palace" is taken up in that article. Since the drawing of the Castle is labelled "approximate" (p. 110), it is justifiable to assign to the Talbot Court House the first definitely known hipped roof in the colonies, and specific documents are cited (p. 132): the *Maryland Archives*. The secret of why the Treasury in Annapolis is not included lies in the words (p. 134), "well-known." Sash of 1682 for Third Haven is labelled (p. 145) "probable."

Authorities on early American architecture will recognize that there are relatively few books in this field as well documented as this one; the bibliography covers five large pages of small print.

Henry Chandlee Forman

Park Benjamin, Poet and Editor. Poems of Park Benjamin. Genealogy of Park Benjamin. By Merle M. Hoover. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. xii, 299 pp.; xiv, 209 pp.; ix, 78 pp. 3 vols. $3.00, $3.00, $1.50.

These volumes may be used either independently of one another or as a set. A summary of ancestry and long poetical excerpts are included in the biography, and a sketch of the life of the subject appears in both other volumes.

The biography shows intensive primary research but is unsatisfactory. The preface states "no other editor is so typical, so symbolical," but the author fails to clarify Benjamin's relationships with the important figures and events of the day. If the contention is true, then the subject deserves

a more extensive treatment. For example, the author mentions a quarrel between Park Benjamin and Hawthorne, whom the former had, in great measure, introduced to the magazine reading public. As possible causes of the quarrel, are offered, with neither elucidation nor supporting circumstances, hypothetical loss by fire of Hawthorne's manuscripts and a severe review of the *Token*, edited by S. G. Goodrich, with whom Hawthorne was independently at odds (p. 72). Those who consider Park Benjamin less symbolical than does Mr. Hoover are apt to conclude that the space devoted would have been sufficient, had it been better utilized. The quotations are too long, too numerous, and insufficiently selective. There is considerable repetition. Some textual material should have been omitted, or at least relegated to footnotes.

Errors other than those of technique mar the biography. The author lacks the knowledge of American journalistic and political history needed properly to orient Benjamin in his environment. Surprising are such assertions as "Up to 1840 the presentation of news was more or less impersonal; a happening was recorded merely as a factual news item, with no reportorial coloring or interpretation" (p. 104). The quotation at the top of page 79 fairly represents Benjamin's 1837 stand on the Bank issue. He wished to allow every man to originate currency provided any one would accept it. Otherwise he was a Whig. The author contends that Benjamin's having entered partisan politics by publicly advocating Whig principles in the *American Monthly Magazine* was a primary factor leading to the demise of that periodical. The validity of this claim is open to serious question. Whatever merit it has seems to be attributable to the fact that Benjamin espoused too little rather than too much Whiggery. Making the situation worse, Mr. Hoover adds Benjamin's Bank policy "undoubtedly owed its inspiration to Horace Greeley. . . ." Needless to say, this conclusion is undocumented.

Less basic are certain stylistic mannerisms, and errors of inadvertence, such as the identification of Oliver Wendell Holmes as a gentleman disappointed with the study and practice of law (pp. 32-33).

Mr. Hoover acquits himself creditably in editing one hundred of Park Benjamin's poems. The poetry is characterized as acceptable if uninspiring, as being representative of the bulk of American verse in the antebellum years. The sonnets deserve recognition. The lecture in verse may cause bewilderment today, but it pleased audiences a century ago. The notes are brief but adequate.

The genealogy is well documented for the American generations, and, like the biography, is accompanied by an extensive bibliography. As Mr. Hoover implies, the question of armorial bearings is ambiguous.

JETER AND LISETTE ISELY

Princeton, N. J.

Fighting Politician: Major General N. P. Banks. By Fred Harvey Harrington. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for the American Historical Association, 1948. xi, 301 pp. $3.50.

Although Nathaniel Prentice Banks rose from a "bobbin boy" to Speaker of the House, major general of Volunteers, and governor of Massachusetts, he never really achieved lasting fame because he too often preferred the path of political expediency to that of principle. As a politician, he frequently wavered in his quest for votes. As a general, his record was no worse than some of the West Pointers although he failed in the field.

Of local interest is Banks' administration of the Department of Annapolis in 1861. At first Banks was popular, in a city of Southern hearts but Northern muskets, but he was later forced to adopt a policy of coercion. Although this policy was indirectly responsible for his relief, Banks' Maryland policies were approved by Harrington as the perfect pattern for reconstruction.

Professor Harrington has written a sympathetic and objective study which is both well organized and presented. Published under the auspices of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund of the American Historical Association, this book reveals exhausting research. His bibliography, however, would have been more complete had it included more items of the Civil War period now in the Society's possession, particularly the Edward F. Jones Papers. Its publication will, above all, prove the folly of placing military amateurs in positions of responsibility during war. Surely those accountable for our military security would do well to remember the lessons of cautiousness, indecisiveness, and general ineptitude brought out in *Fighting Politician.*

Frank F. White, Jr.

Travels in the Confederate States. By E. Merton Coulter. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. 289 pp. $7.50.

The author of this book, a distinguished historian and editor, has here gathered together 492 bibliographical notices describing the most worthwhile of the vast number of published accounts of travellers in the Confederate States. Most of these works are rare and their authors otherwise undistinguished, so that the description of the work and the biographical material—however scant in some cases—should prove to be of capital importance to students of the Civil War and of Reconstruction. The entries are arranged alphabetically by the name of the author, but readers interested in special areas, engagements, subjects, etc. are admirably served by an excellent general index. Unfortunately, the price of this work is forbidding for individuals, but so valuable a scholarly tool should certainly find its way into the shelves of every first class library.

M. L. Radoff

Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Francis Lieber, Nineteenth-Century Liberal. By FRANK FREIDEL. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. 445 pp. $4.50.

Among the numerous German immigrants of the nineteenth century there were not many who surpassed Francis Lieber in intellectual stature and universal knowledge. In the beginning of his life there were years of wandering and adventures, failures and frustration. Not until he came to America, landing in Boston, 1825, did he find a useful place within the society of men. To be sure, he was a problematic figure, quite often querulous and cantankerous, and many of his friends suffered under his demanding, sometimes arrogant habits. Yet, what counts is that he came to America when he needed a field in which to work, and that he arrived at a moment when the country needed a man of his peculiar intellectual gifts. After many years of more or less hack work for publishers of encyclopedias, Francis Lieber was called to the chair of political science at the University of South Carolina. It was at Columbia S. C., that he wrote some of the works that established his fame. His greater opportunity came when he was, after twenty years in the South, made professor at Columbia University. His forceful personality has left its mark on the intellectual history of the United States. He is generally considered the father of political science as an academic field. His *Encyclopedia Americana* gave to thousands of Americans the most important means of self-education, at a time when formal schooling was still at a very low level. His two most outstanding works, *Political Ethics* and *Civil Liberty*, which for the first time linked systematically political theory with American reality were the political classics of the America of the nineteenth century. And the impact of one of his minor achievements, the codifying of the rules of war, is still felt in the American *Field Manual* of 1940.

Frank Freidel has given us with his book the first comprehensive critical Lieber biography. He used extensively the vast amount of untapped Lieber material preserved at the Henry Huntington Library and at the Johns Hopkins University, as well as letters and documents spread over various libraries and archives. The result is most gratifying. We now have a well-written account of one of the most versatile scholars in American history, a great theorist who did not lose himself in theorizing, but became a most useful citizen, a man who was something like an intellectual prism of the middle span of the nineteenth century.

DIETER CUNZ

University of Maryland

Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Duke University Library. Prepared by NANNIE M. TILLEY and NOMA LEE GOODWIN. [*Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*, ser. XXVII-XXVIII (1947)]. Durham, N. C.: Duke University, 1947. 362 pp. $2.00.

The publication of the long awaited guide to the manuscript collections of Duke university will be welcomed by all students of Southern

history, and especially by those interested in the nineteenth century. The *Guide* has been carefully compiled, the collections excellently described and the whole thoroughly indexed. Those interested in Maryland history will find a surprisingly large number of relevant entries. In addition to many minor items Duke possesses several substantial collections of papers of Marylanders. Among them are the collections of Charles Macgill, a surgeon of Hagerstown, William Briscoe Stone, a lawyer of Port Tobacco, Rear Admiral Lavallette and James A. Robertson, late Archivist of Maryland.

The Macgill-McGill Family of Maryland: A Genealogical Record of over 400 Years, Beginning 1537, Ending 1948. Compiled by JOHN MCGILL. [Washington, D. C.: the author]. 1948. 262 pp. $5.00.

This genealogy sets forth the descendants of the Rev. James Macgill, who was Rector of Queen Caroline Parish, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, from 1730 until his death in 1779. The compiler deserves great credit for this valuable work, to which he has obviously devoted an immense amount of time and labor, bringing down the lines to the present day wherever possible.

Many people of prominence are numbered among the descendants of Parson Macgill. The parson had a pedigree which he obtained from Scotland, upon which was based his claim to the title of Viscount Oxford, a claim which he is said to have dropped upon ascertaining that neither money nor lands went with it. It is unfortunate that Burke and another authority, unintentionally, cast a doubt on this pedigree, so that the genealogist hesitates to make use of it; for the burden of proof rests on them rather than on the parson, whom, at this late date, it would be unfair to accuse of attributing the wrong parentage to himself. The fact that gentle birth was probably a rarity among the clergy of the Church of England in his day should not be taken as contributing to the doubt. Rather, it should be remembered that Burke is by no means infallible.

The same modern tendency of families of old American stock to wither away, which we noted in our review of the Hoye genealogy, is observable here and there in this work, but we did not look closely enough to justify our preaching a sermon on the subject. It is cheering that a part of "Athol," the parson's landed estate, is still in the family.

W. B. M.

Saint Memin Water Color Miniatures. By J. HALL PLEASANTS. [Reprinted from the Walpole Society *Notebook*, 1947]. New York: the Society, 1947. 29 pp.

Once again the author illumines a page of the history of American art by his acute observation and indefatigable research. Beginning with a few pencil and wash drawings which excited his interest, Dr. Pleasants

rounded up a total of 18 miniature paintings by St. Memin which had escaped the notice of other students. Like the well known crayon drawings on pink paper and the medallion engravings made from them, these miniatures are also in profile. Thirteen of them are signed, either "St. Memin fecit" or "St. M. ft." Four of these water colors are in the Redwood collection of the Maryland Historical Society. The pamphlet is embellished by 17 reproductions.

History of Havre de Grace. By ELIAS W. KIDWILER. [Havre de Grace: Press of the Havre de Grace Record, 1947]. 65 pp.

Here is a short but lively sketch of a historic community, the site of which was first known as Harmer's Town, later as Susquehanna Lower Ferry. During the War of 1812 Havre de Grace was sacked and burned. The author makes the most of John O'Neill's heroism, and draws on his imagination to fill in details of the story that were not vouchsafed by earlier historians. The pamphlet contains information on fisheries, canneries, the port, railroads, hotels and prominent citizens.

Steam Navigation on the Carolina Sounds and the Chesapeake in 1892. By SAMUEL WARD STANTON. Index and Foreword by Alexander Crosby Brown. (Reprint Series No. 4, Steamship Historical Society of America.) Salem, Mass.: the Society, 1947. 31 pp.

This pamphlet furnishes interesting data on the steamships operating on the Chesapeake 1813 through 1892 and supplies drawings of many of them. The articles by Stanton first appeared in the *Seaboard* magazine for April, May and June, 1892.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Israfel in Berkshire: Edgar Allan Poe's Visit to Reading [Pa.] March, 1844. By J. BENNETT NOLAN. Reading: Published for the Bicentennial of Reading, 1948. 31 pp.

Anne Arundel County, Maryland: Its Economic Development and Potentials. [By the Staff of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Maryland. (Studies in Business and Economics, Vol. 2, No. 1)]. College Park: the Bureau, [1948]. 79 pp.

The Origin and the Chronology of Clipper Ships. [By BERNARD BERENSON, M. D.: privately printed, 1947]. 14 pp.

The Scheide Library: A Summary View of its History and its Outstanding Books. By JULIAN P. BOYD. Princeton, N. J.: privately printed, 1947. 172 pp.

Checklist of the Portraits in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society. By FREDERICK L. WEIS. Reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the . . . Society for April, 1946. Worcester, Mass.: the Society, 1947. 76 pp.

History of the Baltimore Music Club, 1923-1948. By MARIAN E. LANSBURGH. [Baltimore: the Club, 1948]. 25 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

FRESCO PAINTER, ANNAPOLIS

The following is taken from the *Maryland Gazette*, of Annapolis, Jan. 20, 1774.

To the Ladies and Gentlemen,

Samuel Rusbatch, late pupil to Robert Maberly Esq; coach and herald painter, and varnisher to their majesties and the royal family; proposeth (under the direction of Joseph Horatio Anderson, architect in Annapolis) to carry on all the various branches of coach and herald painting, varnishing and guilding; as well plain as in the most decorated taste. Also painting in fresco, cire-obscure, decorated ceilings for halls, vestibules, and saloons, either in festoons of fruits, flowers, figures or trophies. Carved ornaments in deception, guilding and burnishing in the neatest manner. As well house-painting, in distemper as dead whites, as in the common colours, &c. Those ladies and gentlemen who please to favour him with their commands, may depend on his speedy execution: which he flatters himself will soon recommend him to the favour of the public.

N. B. All letters and orders, sent or directed to Mr. Anderson (as above) will be particularly attended to.

Barr—Would like names of the parents of Thomas Barr, my grandfather, born 1800 and reared near Mt. Sterling, Montgomery County, Kentucky. He died 1865. In 1828 he married Martha McCreary Tipton daughter of Solomon Tipton and Margaret Bradshaw of Montgomery County, Ky. Their sons were David, William, James and Dr. Edward Tipton Barr, my father. Family tradition says that two Barr brothers (one of them the father of my Thomas) migrated from Pennsylvania to Kentucky soon after the Revolution. The uncle of Thomas moved on over to Indiana or Illinois. The Tipton family, originally from Baltimore, settled in 1760 near Winchester, Virginia, and then in 1789 the whole Tipton tribe of fathers, brothers, wives and children settled near Mt. Sterling, Ky.

Lockwood Barr,
Room 1066, 60 East 42nd St.,
New York 17, N. Y.

Oliphant—According to family tradition,—Oliphant, son of a shipping merchant in Charleston, S. C., around 1800 or later left college and came to Baltimore on business for his father. He settled here and about 1830-

34 married a Miss Bell. The son, Joseph, born 1836, worked in the quarries at Texas, Baltimore County, married a widow, Georgeanne ————, née Tidings (or Jamart), 1860 or 1861, and lived on S. Caroline St. They had children Joseph, Nora, Lydia, William and Louis, born between 1863 and 1872. Information concerning this family and its connection with the Oliphants in Charleston is desired.

Mrs. Louis Wenk,
946 Montpelier St., Baltimore 18, Md.

Lackland—Wish information regarding Ann Lackland who on Dec. 24, 1798, married George William Higgins of Anne Arundel or Prince George's County. Also desire names of parents of Mary Bird, born 1787, wife of Samuel Davidson, born 1783, both buried at All Hallows Church, Anne Arundel Co. Also parents of Rachel ———— who married (1) Thomas Medford, son of Bulmer and Fortune Medford, of Kent Co., Md., (2) Francis Barney. She was born 1665, died June 24, 1719. Could her name have been McCall?

Mrs. J. R. Grove,
21 Prospect Hill Ave., Summit, N. J.

Grants-in-Aid—The Institute of Early American History and Culture has announced that it will make a number of grants-in-aid in the field of American History before 1815. These grants will be made for full time research on work already in progress and will not exceed $1,000. Announcement of awards will be made on May 15, 1949. All applications should be filed not later than March 15, 1949. Requests for information should be addressed to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

CONTRIBUTORS

Associate professor of Italian at Columbia University, Dr. Marraro is the author of *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861*, and other works. Under a grant from the Council for Research in the Social Sciences he is preparing a two-volume study of our diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. ☆ Dr. Ezell received his graduate degrees from Harvard University and is now assistant professor of history at the University of Oklahoma. His contribution is a part of an extensive study of American lotteries in earlier times. ☆ Member of the firm of Wrenn, Lewis and Jencks, Mr. Lewis is a practicing architect of Baltimore. ☆ Father Tierney is a graduate of St. Charles College and of St. Mary's Seminary, and took the Master's degree at Catholic University. He is a member of the faculty of St. Charles and is engaged in writing the official history of that institution.

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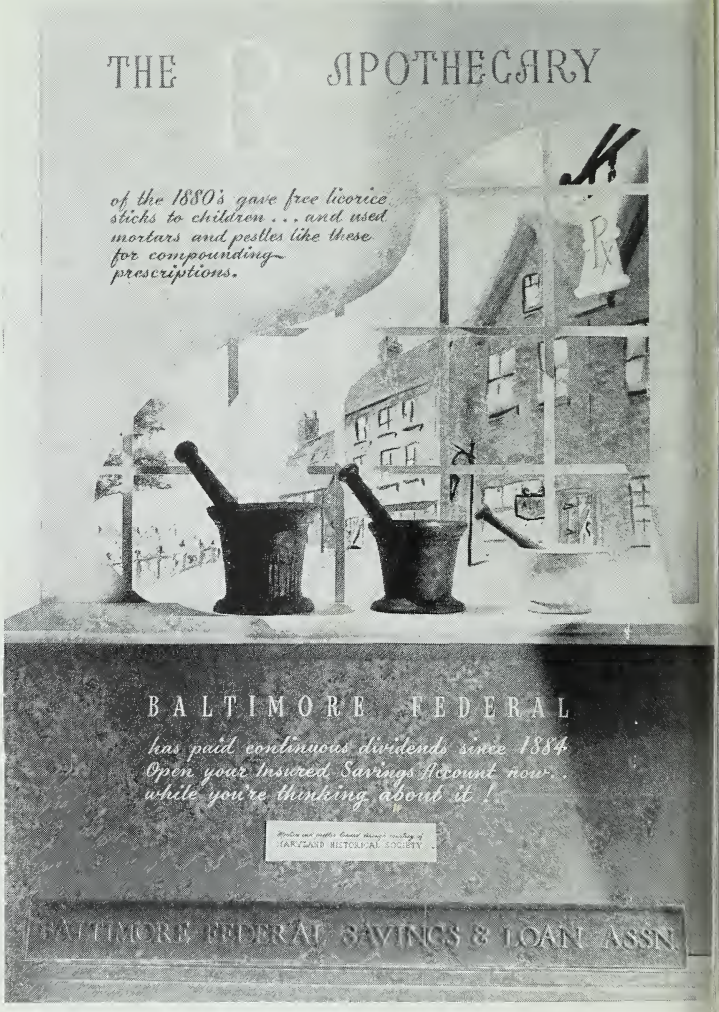
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